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APPENDIX.

Commissions appointing Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Wolseley to be Governor of the Colony of Natal and of the Transvaal Territory, also Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South-eastern Africa.

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SOUTH AFRICA.

No. 1.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received April 13, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
February 21, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of various Minutes, as per Schedule attached, on the subject of the organization, employment, &c. of the native regiments lately raised in Natal for service during the Zulu war, from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding, and myself, together with reports of some of the resident magistrates on the same subject.

2. The discussion is of more than passing interest. I believe that if South Africa is to be kept in peace it can only be by employing the natives as the staple of the army which, with a small European force, must keep the native tribes in order. To use Lord Clyde's favourite simile, "the native" being the bamboo, "the European the "steel point of the spear."

The present is probably the most favourable opportunity that can offer of deciding how this can be done. But it is not easy to see how the problem can be solved whilst the military command and the tribal control of the natives are in different hands.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

P.S.—As it appeared to me that the discussion regarding the causes of the dispersion of the Native Contingent was extending beyond the practical point as to how the immediate defence of the Colony was to be provided for, I, on the 20th instant, addressed to both their Excellencies the Lieutenant-Governor and the Lieutenant-General Commanding a memorandum, which I trust will confine the discussion for the present to meet the very pressing necessity of Colonial defence against a Zulu raid in force, and to ascertain the really available resources of the Natal native system to supply the auxiliaries wanted for a forward movement.

H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

ENCLOSURES.

No. 1.

3.45 P.M.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

January 24, 1879.

THE whole of the Native Contingent walked off this morning. Their rifles were taken from them; all the hospital bearers then went, and now the native pioneers are going. I am now left without any natives. What is to be done with Lonsdale and his Europeans? I shall of course keep them until I hear from you.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. GLYN, Colonel.

No. 2.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

January 27, 1879.

I HAVE just received this letter through Major Grenfell.

Unless these men are at once ordered back to their regiments, or punished for refusing to go, the most serious consequences will ensue. I myself by speaking to Major Bengough's battalion have, I hear, prevented them deserting.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD.

No. 3.

PRIVATE SECRETARY to HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

January 29, 1879.

WILL you be good enough to show the enclosed Minute by the Lieutenant Governor to his Excellency the High Commissioner.

By command.
F. S. HADEN,
Private Secretary.

No. 4.

For HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

January 29, 1879.

THE information that the men of that portion of the Native Contingent which was under Captain Lonsdale have left Rorke's Drift and returned to their homes is serious.

The cause for their having done this has yet to be learned. The great disaster which happened to our force at Isandhlwana Camp on the 22nd inst., the circumstances under which these men passed the night of the 22nd, and the retirement of the remainder of the column on Rorke's Drift and back into Natal, were all calculated to have their effect upon the natives who belonged to this column. It is said also that amongst the dead bodies that they passed through on the morning of the 23rd they recognised several of their own people, which had a depressing influence upon them. At Rorke's Drift, too, when they arrived, there was all the expectation of an attack by the Zulu force, and of course among the natives there might be many exaggerated rumours.

I am told, too, that whilst the European force at Rorke's Drift on the night of the 23rd were entrenched, the Native Contingent was not entrenched; and further I am told that, on an alarm being given that night, the European officers and non-commissioned officers who were with the Native Contingent left their men and took refuge within the entrenchments.

On the following morning, the 24th, the General and his Staff left the camp; and this circumstance, those acquainted with the native character tell me, may very probably have had a further depressing effect upon the natives.

In addition, no doubt there was great uncertainty in their minds as to the fate and futures of their homes and families.

I mention all these conditions as conditions which may perhaps explain, although they would not excuse, the departure of the natives from the camp.

Their own reasons for the step taken by them it will be necessary for us to ascertain, and I have given instructions that proper inquiry should be made. Pending more certain information as to their reasons for leaving, and as to their temper, I feel it would be premature to pronounce any definite opinion.

To order these men back to the camp at Rorke's Drift might have the effect desired, or it might not. So much depends upon the real influences that have been at work in determining the men to take the step.

My opinion, as your Excellency is aware, has, from the first, been that the attempt to do away with the native system and organisation, such as they are, and to substitute a regimental system and regimental organisation was one of very doubtful advisableness.

I gave way when the Lieutenant-General said that he could not accept our system and our organisation, and I consented to furnish him with the number of men he then asked for, namely 6,000, afterwards increased to 7,050,—for the purpose of establishing the regimental system.

There are certain things in that regimental system, and in the way in which it has been carried out, which I think are ill-calculated to promote the object in view, which, as I would understand it to be, is that the Lieutenant-General commanding Her Majesty's forces should be furnished with a useful auxiliary Native Contingent. This Government was prepared to do its best to furnish such a contingent; and its opinion was unfavourable to the experiment of the regimental system being tried. But, as I have said, it gave way to the strong expression of the Lieutenant-General's views in this matter, and to his wishes.

Then, in the carrying out of the experiment, there were two measures adopted which were ill-suited, in my opinion, and in the opinion of the officers of this Government competent to give an opinion, to secure success. The direct relations of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, as supreme chief of the native population, with the natives forming the contingent were broken. Both in outward form and actually, the recognised link between the natives and their supreme chief was disconnected, the authority of the latter being superseded by military authority. The other measure referred to is that of the appointment of non-commissioned officers. This had not entered into the programme of the system at the time I consented, out of deference to the Lieutenant-General's views, to give the 6,000 men he asked for, but was introduced afterwards without reference to me.

The establishment of a regimental system for the native population of Natal will, I think, be found to require much time and most careful management.

The native system is a tribal one, if it is not tribal it is nothing, and in dealing with it everything depends upon the thorough recognition of that fact, and upon the judicious handling of the links which bind together the members of a tribal family, and the judicious management of the relations which connect that tribal family with the Government. It must not, therefore, be wondered at if an attempt to interfere with that tribal system, to dispense with its mode of operation, and to substitute an organisation hitherto alien to the customs and sympathies of the people, should prove liable to failure.

I think it only due to the native population and to the Native Contingent to put these considerations before your Excellency. But in every way that I can possibly give help to his Excellency the Lieutenant-General under these circumstances I shall of course be anxious to give it.

(Signed) H. Bulwer.

No. 5.

To His Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding for His Excellency's opinion and remarks.

January 30, 1879.

I confess I hardly see why a tribal organisation should not be also regimental, or why a regimental should not be also tribal. The two things are by no means incompatible, as shown in our own and other European armies and in India; nor why the facts of the regiments or tribes taking the field need disconnect the link between the tribes and the supreme chief.

Nor do I think any special justification of the Natal Native Contingents or population is needed. They have doubtless been shaken by a sudden and unlooked for misfortune, which would have told much less on them later on in the campaign, but I see every reason to hope all will come round again very shortly.

The present practical question is, how shall we keep together the Native Contingent we require in the most effective manner? and to this, I think, our attention should be specially directed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

No. 6.

His Excellency the High Commissioner.

Pietermaritzburg, January 31, 1879.

I have read with much regret this Minute of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, as it is from first to last an attempt to prove that the disbandment of the Native Contingent and their desertion has been caused entirely by my having refused to accept the so-called tribal system of Natal, and to my having substituted for it what is called in the Minute under review the regimental system.

In answering this charge I labour under the extreme disadvantage of being entirely ignorant of what is meant by the tribal system. Ever since I entered the Natal Colony, and thus accepted the responsibilities of its defence, I have been vainly endeavouring to obtain from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and from the Natal Government a clear and precise statement regarding this point.

On every occasion that I endeavoured to obtain information I was baffled by vague generalities and by oft repeated laudations of this tribal system. I could never, however, gain any guarantee or assurance that this system had ever been tested, and no one could

give me any information as to any of the details connected with it. If, however, my memory serves me right, the point of difference between myself and the Natal Government was not as to whether the natives were to be commanded in a manner peculiar to themselves, of which no one seemed exactly to understand the system, but as to the numbers and description of Europeans who were to be attached to the natives when called out.

On the first occasion when the question was discussed in Council, there was no difference of opinion as to the value of a good number of European leaders, but grave doubts were expressed as to whether the Colony could provide the requisite numbers. I therefore recommended that the requisite number of European officers should be obtained from the Cape Colony, as I knew that men who had already served with native levies were willing to volunteer their services.

The appointment of six non-commissioned officers to each 100 natives was an afterthought, and was added to the original scheme, in order that each of the three officers might have two Europeans to stand by him in case of any emergency, and in order to givea stronger European backing to the natives, whose fighting qualities had yet to be developed.

These proposals were accepted, with the exception of the appointment of the non-commissioned officers, which I am afraid was not submitted for the approval of the Natal Government.

The several native contingents were, so far as I know, called out by tribes, and the only stipulation I made was that the several Chiefs should furnish contingents consisting of even hundreds, in order that there might be no necessity to mix up different tribes. This request was acceded to, but, owing no doubt to difficulties which had not been foreseen, the quota given by the several Chiefs either exceeded or was less than the numbers named in many instances.

So anxious, however, were the commandants to carry out what they considered the tribal system, that the companies were kept at uneven strength in order that men of different tribes should be kept distinct. Many of the principal Chiefs accompanied their men into the field, and were treated with every consideration by the several commandants.

I am at a loss to understand what more could have been done to keep up as far as possible a Natal tribal system. The division of a large body, such as 2,000 men, into as far as possible equal portions is an absolute necessity. The comfort and health of the men depend upon it.

If the tribal system is to be understood as meaning a mass of 2,000 men, made up of different tribes in different proportions and without any military arrangements, then I must emphatically assert that such a force would have melted away before it ever came into contact with the enemy, as it would have had no cohesion and no power of organisation.

The regular supply of food would have been an impossibility, owing to want of the necessary machinery, and the performance of the several duties which devolve upon soldiers in the field could not have been properly proportioned, so as to ensure an equal share being performed by each individual.

Such a force would have been an encumbrance and a continual anxiety.

I deny, therefore, most positively that there is any proof that the desertion of the Native Contingent has been caused by the substitution of a regimental for a tribal system.

Up to the disaster of the 22nd the Native Contingent attached to No. 3 column was in the highest possible state of discipline and contentedness. There had been an entire absence of any sort of crime, and mutual confidence between Europeans and natives reigned supreme.

The shock to the nerves occasioned by the sad disaster at Isandhlana was the sole cause, in my opinion, of the desertion of the Native Contingent.

It is not to be wondered at, and I am not in any way anxious to speak harshly of this act of theirs.

I am sure it will be quite possible to get them to return to their colours, and I trust that every effort will be made towards this end.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has, I think, overlooked one very probable reason for this desertion.

The homes of all these men are within reach of a raid from Zululand, and they would therefore naturally feel anxious about their property and belongings.

Had the tribes farther back from the frontier been called upon to furnish a contingent, it is possible, although I admit not altogether probable, that they would not have disbanded themselves.

Another cause I might suggest is that the tribes whose loyalty was at the time of my arrival in the Colony not above suspicion, and whose chiefs were well known as being regarded with anxiety, were all called out.

These men at first certainly belied the bad impression that had been formed of them, and their conduct was all that could be desired. It is possible, however, that public opinion was right, and in time of distress these men would naturally be the first to fall away.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor considers that the substitution of the regimental for the so-called tribal system severed the direct relations of himself as supreme chief with the natives who were placed under my command.

I cannot understand how these relations could have been preserved under any other system. Troops in the field must be commanded by the supreme *military* chief who is present with them at the time, and I am at a loss to understand how under any other organisation the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor could have been otherwise than suspended for the time being by military authority.

In my anxiety, however, that the obligations of the Natal natives to their supreme chief should be fully recognised, as I felt it would strengthen my hand considerably, I suggested long before the natives were called out that a Natal magistrate should be attached to each column in which the Natal contingent were, in order that any possible difficulties that might arise outside the bounds of military duty might be adjudicated upon by one of their own Government officials.

The necessity for this arrangement was not, however, recognised.

In conclusion, I can only reiterate that the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal is entirely mistaken in supposing that the regimental organisation which obtained in the several native regiments was "alien to the customs and sympathies of the people."

Up to the day of the disaster the system was a success, so far as the comfort and contentment of the natives composing the contingent were concerned, and I cannot but regret that his Excellency, without any proof before him of the accuracy of the line of argument he has adopted, should endeavour to throw all the blame of the failure upon my shoulders.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

No. 7.

February 7, 1879.

THE Lieutenant-Governor is mistaken in the interpretation put by him on my Minute, which, he says, is an attempt to prove that the disbanding of the men of the Native Contingent of column No. 3 and their desertion have been caused by his refusing to accept the so-called tribal system of Natal, and by his having substituted for it what is called in my Minute the "regimental system."

2. I stated in my Minute that the cause of the men having returned to their homes had "yet to be learned," and I mentioned three or four conditions, different from the one above named, as possibly affording an explanation of the departure of the natives belonging to Captain Lonsdale's contingent from the camp. I distinctly said, however, that, pending more information, it would be premature on my part to pronounce any definite opinion as to what the real causes had been. The Lieutenant-General appears to have overlooked this portion of my Minute.

3. I doubt, indeed, very much the value of the new system, and in my Minute I touched at some length upon it. The Lieutenant-General says that I call it "the regimental system." But if it is not the regimental system I do not know what system it is.

4. The Lieutenant-General appears to call in question the existence of a tribal system in Natal. I do not, however, suppose that such is his Excellency's intention, but rather that his remarks are directed to the tribal system so far as it may be suited for military purposes.

5. With regard to these remarks, I have to observe that when the Lieutenant-General first raised the question of a Native Contingent for the field he was told that there was no military system or military organisation among our natives such as could be compared with the military system and organisation of the Zulus; but that the native

population of this Colony was still, to a great extent at least, under the tribal system, and that among the tribes there was a tribal organisation applicable for fighting purposes, which it was desirable, in the opinion of this Government, should not be disregarded.

6. Whether, if it were intended to raise a permanent military force from the native population of the Colony, it would be more advisable to adopt the establishment of such a force according to the circumstances and conditions of the tribal system, or, on the contrary, to leave the tribal system alone, and establish the force entirely upon another basis, would perhaps be a question, and a question that would probably be decided in favour of a regimental system. But, having regard to the existence of the tribal system of the native population of Natal, and assuming the object to be to raise a Native Contingent at a short notice and for a short time, it certainly has been the opinion of this Government from the first that it would be more advisable and more prudent on every account to adopt the establishment of such a temporary force to the existing conditions of the native population and to the circumstances of the tribal system, adopting its organisation for military purposes for what it is worth, and endeavouring to make it as efficient and useful an auxiliary force as possible.

7. When the Lieutenant-General stated that he would desire to have a native force we were prepared to give him one. At first he named 15,000, afterwards he named 6,000. We were prepared to give him such a force in this way. A force equal to the number required would have been raised from different tribes.

The Lieutenant-General had said that he would desire to have a Native Contingent attached to each column, and as there were to be three columns, so it may be said there would be three separate Native Contingents, either of 5,000 in strength as originally proposed, or of 2,000 in strength as subsequently proposed. Each of these contingents would have been made up of different tribal bodies, each body varying in strength indeed according to the strength of the tribe, but all the bodies together making up the full number required, or as near that number as possible. Over each of the three contingents the Government would have appointed an officer or European leader, carefully selected for the service, who would have had the command of the contingent and would have represented the Government of Natal, or the Lieutenant-Governor as the supreme chief, in dealing with the tribal bodies making up his contingent. He, in his turn, would in the field have come under the command of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General commanding the forces, and would have carried out the orders and directions of the Lieutenant-General or any other military officer commanding the column to which he might be attached. Under each commander of a contingent there would have been other European leaders, more or less, according to the numbers of the tribal bodies, or according to circumstances. Each tribal body would have been under its own native leaders, who in their turn would have been under the European leader.

8. Further into details we did not at that time go. The Lieutenant-General said that he could not accept that offer; that the men must be divided into battalions of 1,000 strong, and into companies of 100 strong, and that there must be no less than so many officers to each battalion. At first, I think, he said there must be one officer to every company, but afterwards, I believe, the number was altered to three officers for every company.

The Government knew that it would be quite unable to find the number of European officers named by the Lieutenant-General, and its views were opposed to the regimental system. But I gave way to the strong expression of the Lieutenant-General's views on the subject, from the desire to fall in, as far as I possibly could, with what he considered expedient. I consented to furnish the 6,000 men (the number then named) required by the Lieutenant-General, and that they should be divided into battalions of 1,000, and, as far as possible, into companies of 100; and it was understood that to each battalion a number of officers should be appointed, I think 33 in all.

It was further understood that the officers should be appointed by me, but that the Lieutenant-General should obtain the services of certain gentlemen who had been officers with the native forces at the Cape.

A considerable departure from this understanding was subsequently made by the Lieutenant-General, and without reference to me.

He decided (1) that the appointment of officers should rest with him, and (2) that a number of Europeans (I believe about 60) should be added to each battalion as non-commissioned officers. This, it is evident, was a very important departure from the arrangement.

9. The Lieutenant-General says, indeed, that, as the troops in the field would have to be commanded by himself as their "supreme military chief," he does not understand how

the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor, as supreme chief, could have been otherwise than superseded. But I have to observe, with regard to this, that, so far as the native population of this Colony is concerned, there is no such position recognised as that of a military supreme chief independent of the supreme chief. That position (so far as the native population is concerned) is nowhere, so far as I am aware, conferred upon the Lieutenant-General who may happen to command Her Majesty's forces in South Africa. The supreme chieftainship is vested in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, and in his hands alone, and no provision is made for the supercession of the Lieutenant-Governor by any military or other authority. The supreme command, of course, in the field would have rested with the Lieutenant-General, and any Native Contingent that was sent out would have been placed under his command, the authority of the supreme chief being represented in the person of the officer appointed by him to command the contingent or any portion of it. I think it was a mistake to sever the connexion between their lawful supreme chief and the Native Contingent, as was done by that act. Then I am of opinion that it was a far greater mistake to put European non-commissioned officers over the natives. Both these steps were taken without reference to me; and, having regard to the peculiar relations existing between this Government and its native population, I do not think that this should have been done.

10. I have felt it necessary to make these few remarks, in reply to what the Lieutenant-General has said, in order to explain the difference that exists between the views of the Lieutenant-General and the views of the Government of Natal.

11. However, what it is necessary to do now is to consider what steps should be taken to supply No. 3 column with a Native Contingent, the men belonging to the contingent attached to that column having gone home. As I have stated elsewhere, upon the information of that circumstance being given to me by the Lieutenant-General, I directed that the magistrates should make inquiries as to the causes of the dispersion of the men, and I have now received from the authorities of one of the divisions supplying the men of that contingent, the following information on the subject. I quote from the report of Major-General Lloyd, who, together with the resident magistrate, Mr. Paterson, met three of the Chiefs.

* * * * * *

"The Chiefs assembled were—

"1. Umkungo, who was accompanied by his brother Isikoto; the latter had been out on service with the Native Contingent, and had escaped from the camp at Isandhlawana on the 22nd ultimo.

"2. Domba.

"3. M. Ghâna.

"4. Pagade was at a distant kraal, mourning the death of his sons, but a few of his people were present.

"After some conversation on the late occurrences, with the particulars of which they are well acquainted, they were asked to make any remarks or representations they wished on the subject. Umkungo then spoke at some length, but what he said may be briefly stated as follows:—

"Their people did not like being under strange officers unacquainted with their language and customs. They wish to be under their own native leaders, headed by Europeans who know and understand them, and to be allowed to fight in their own way.

"They do not like our system of drill; but they are quite prepared to submit to the enforcement of discipline, or even a hasty word or blow, if from an officer whom they know and have confidence in. Lastly, they wish to know whether, when their men returned to the contingent, they would be under the same officers as before.

"The other Chiefs merely endorsed what had been said by Umkingo. They were told, in reply, that we had no instructions on the last point, but that what they had represented would be reported to the Government. I then told them that under the circumstances it was most desirable to provide against a possible inroad of the Zulus, and that I should be glad to hear their ideas on the subject.

"The answer (in which all concurred) was that they would resist any invasion to the utmost, but they begged to be allowed to fight in their own way, aided by a few white leaders who would understand them. They also entreated to be supplied with arms and ammunition.

"Except as to fire-arms, I assented, and said that that question would be referred to Government. I then suggested that they should maintain a constant watch; and that, on a Zulu force attempting to cross into Natal, they should immediately forward infor-

mation, and at the same time remove their women and children towards the Table Mountain. That, if unable to cope with the invading force, they should fall back upon Estcourt, where positions among the buildings of the village would be assigned to them, to hold in support of and supported by the Laager. They cordially assented to these proposals, and thanked me for them; but in the course of further conversation the removal of the women and children was not considered advisable, on the ground that the men would not fight in their absence, but would run away to them. With great reluctance, therefore, I left it to their discretion to send them away or not.

"His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor will be glad to hear that nothing could exceed the cheerful spirit and loyal tone of the Chiefs, and their few immediate followers, throughout the interview.

"The result, then, is that the Chief Pagade's men will guard the left bank of the Movi River to its junction with the Tugela.

"Domba, M. Ghâne, Umkumgo, aided by Taku, will form a continuous chain along the Tugela, from Colenso to the crossing of the Greytown and Newcastle road. They will afford intelligence to our patrols, and send in direct information of the appearance of any hostile force; in that event they will concentrate, and act according to circumstances."

* * * * * *

12. What the views of these Chiefs are will be gathered from the above report. Mr. Paterson, the resident magistrate, writes to me in a private letter that he hopes the system, so far as the men of his division are concerned, may be abandoned; and that, if they are again to go to the front, they may be reorganized upon a better footing, This, he says, is the view of the Chiefs and indunas themselves.

"If used in their own way," he says, "the native forces will prove most valuable, (they have well proved their loyalty): If again called out under the late military system they will be worse than useless; they will be discontented, and may become dangerous."

* * * * * *

13. For the present it will be perceived that all the men who have returned belonging to the tribes of that division will be employed in resisting an invasion or inroad by any Zulu force; and as our position is at this immediate moment one of defence, their services will not be lost in defending that part of the country, which is an exposed one, against a Zulu inroad.

14. But, having regard to the time when it may be decided that column No. 3 shall again advance, the question is as to whether the men of the Native Contingent lately attached to that column shall be sent back to the front, there to be placed again under the system referred to, or whether they shall be sent back under another system.

15. I am in this difficulty, that I understand the Lieutenant-General to say (this was in a conversation I had with him) that he would not have them back, except under his own system, whilst I cannot but perceive the inconveniences and possibly prejudicial consequences that are likely to arise if they are sent back under that system.

(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

No. 8.

To the Deputy Adjutant-General.

February 11, 1879.

When the General returns to Pietermaritzburg, this memorandum should be shown to him for any observations he may wish to offer on it.

But, in the meantime, the practical point is how to get the native force required as auxiliaries to Her Majesty's troops in the field.

On this question I shall be glad if, pending the General's return, Colonel Bellairs will confer with any official his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor may indicate, and favour us with any suggestions which may occur to him.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere.

No. 9.

Report on Causes of the Dispersion of Native Contingent attached to Column No. 3.

To His Excellency the High Commissioner.

February 8, 1879.

With reference to my Minute of yesterday's date on the subject of the native levies who formed the contingent, under Captain Lonsdale, attached to column No. 3,

I am now enabled to send herewith reports from the Resident Magistrates of the Weenen County and the Klip River Division, the two magisterial divisions which furnished the native levies, regarding the causes of the dispersion of the natives forming the contingent referred to.

It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate these causes, which are given at some length; but it will be observed that both Magistrates dwell upon the objections entertained by the men to being placed under officers whom they do not understand and who do not understand them, whom they do not know, and who do not know them.

The report of the Resident Magistrate of the Weenen County, from which division the greater part of the men were drawn, shows the desire of the men and the Chiefs and indunas to be allowed to fight tribally, in their own way, under their own indunas, and under other European guidance or leadership.

This is the opinion of the Magistrates and the opinion of the Natal Government, which indeed I have already represented.

(Signed) H. Bulwer.

No. 9 A.

Minute.

Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal, to Resident Magistrates, County of Weenen and Klip River Division.

January 29, 1879.

It having come to the knowledge of his Excellency the Supreme Chief that many of the natives of the Native Contingent under Commandant Lonsdale have gone away from their camp without leave, I have to request that you will be good enough to ascertain from the Chiefs of these natives and from these natives themselves the cause of their so going, and also to inform me from which Chiefs these men were supplied, and the number of men that were furnished from each Chief.

(Signed) A. H. Mesham,
Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

Minute.

Secretary for Native Affairs to the Resident Magistrates, Weenen County and Klip River Divisions.

January 31, 1879.

With reference to my Minute of 29th instant, requesting you to ascertain the cause of many natives of the Native Contingent under Commandant Lonsdale having gone away from their camp without leave, I am directed by his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to send you this further letter on the subject in the sense of the instructions sent by me to-day at his Excellency's instance to the Magistrates at Verulam and Stanger, regarding the dispersion of the Native Contingent on the Coast Line Column No. 1.

I have to request information from you on the subject of the natives in question (in your division) having left, and that you will be pleased to ascertain from the Chiefs, as also as far as you may have the opportunity from the men in your jurisdiction who belonged to the battalion under Commandant Lonsdale, the real cause of this movement. Also, if you should be satisfied that the cause of the dispersion of the men was their desire to visit their homes for a time, or a sudden panic, you should take steps to send the men back to the camp, or that, should the causes lie deeper, and you should think it advisable to report first and await instructions, then be good enough to report to me for his Excellency's information.

(Signed) A. H. Mesham,
Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

No. 9 B.

Ladysmith, February 3, 1879.

The Hon. the Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal,

Very many of these natives, on their return from the front, reported themselves to this office.

2. Some of them declare, and adhere to the statement, that officers of the Contingent told them to return home and await further orders, as provisions were short.

3. Others, to use their own words, said to me, "We saw that the Government was driven out of Zululand, and the wind blew us back also." In their extreme ignorance

many thought that the Commander-in-Chief's visit to Maritzburg was a flight from the enemy.

4. Another reason for their retreat, and to them a very strong one, was the necessity of going home and performing the rites of "purifying" after shedding blood.

5. Another alleged reason was that they were placed under officers whom they could not understand, and who did not understand them, the consequence being that they were severely treated for not obeying orders of which they did not know the purport.

6. It is stated, and I conclude with some ground of truth, that some of them were *led* by their officers in their retreat. Others saw their officers killed, and were left without control and fled.

7. I have heard many accounts, well authenticated, of the excellent behaviour of the Contingent where they were supported and encouraged. The returning to their kraals was an act which must be treated with the utmost indulgence and consideration. Their friends are laughing at them; they are ashamed of themselves, and they are all eager to return to the front, under proper guidance. But I don't see what use they would be till operations recommence; and they should be escorted and led by men they understand and trust.

(Signed) W. J. D. Moodie.

I postponed answering your letters, as I had appointed a meeting of all my Chiefs for to-day, which has now taken place.

(Signed) W. J. D. M.

No. 9 C.

His Excellency,

From the Magistrate's above minute it appears that some of these natives declare that officers of the Contingent told them to return home and await further orders as provisions were short.

Others state that they saw the Government was driven out of Zululand, and the wind blew them back also. Another reason being that there was the necessity of going home and performing the rites of purifying after shedding blood. Also that they were placed under officers whom they could not understand, and who did not understand them, and were therefore severely treated for not obeying orders they did not know the purport of.

That some of these natives were led by their officers in their retreat; others saw their officers killed, and were left without control and fled.

That the friends of these natives are now laughing at them, and they are ashamed of themselves and eager to return to the front under proper guidance; that they should be led by men they understand and trust.

The Magistrate does not see what use these men would be at the front until operations recommence.

(Signed) A. H. Mesham,
Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

No. 9 D.

Report of Causes of disbanding of the 3rd Regiment of Natal Native Contingent under Commandant Lonsdale, and statements made by the indunas of the Contingent with respect to their treatment, &c.

On the morning after the return of Colonel Glyn's column to Rorke's Drift on or about the 24th January last, Commandant Lonsdale mustered the Contingent and called out the indunas and told them in the hearing of all, that he wanted to find out the men who were courageous and would stand by their officers and die with them if necessary, and that those who were willing to do this were to come forward. At this time the mounted infantry and volunteers were moving off to Helpmakaar. The general reply of the Contingent was that they were willing to go over to fight along with the white people, who were their shield against Cetywayo, but that now that they saw their shield going away they would not go over by themselves, and that no one could say he was not afraid.

The Commandant explained that the white men were going away because they had lost all their things, and that they were going to get fresh supplies, and that he could see that the black people were frightened, as all their wounds were in the back, whereas all the wounds of the white people were in front.

They were then dismissed, but in the afternoon they were all disarmed (of their guns) and their belts and puggaries and blankets taken from them by their officers.

Each company had a flag which they asked to take home with them, some were allowed to do so, but others were not.

They were then all told to go home and to keep together until they reached the Umsinga, and then to divide each for his own home.

Some food had been given them that morning, but none was issued for their journey home.

Some of the men examined say that they understood they would be wanted again in two months, others say they did not hear anything about their being called out again.

No officers accompanied them out of the camp. The men complain :—

First. Of the insufficiency of food, they say that only a quarter of a beast was issued daily for 100 men, and a small pannikin of meal each, and that instead of the insides of the cattle killed for them being given to them, the butchers sold them on their own account.

Secondly. That when they captured cattle and asked for some to kill and eat, according to their custom, they were refused and had no food given them, and when they surprised the enemy's people cooking and captured their food, they were not allowed to eat it, but it was restored to the enemy.

Thirdly. That they had no food at all for three days at the time of the General's advance against Matyane and the capture of the head-quarters camp.

Fourthly. That very many of their men were flogged for making water within certain forbidden bounds and for washing themselves in certain streams, although they never heard any orders that they were not to do so; the floggings ranging from 6 to 20 lashes.

Fifthly. That they could not understand their officers, many of them could not speak any native language, and the others only the Amapondo dialect, and if they (the men) spoke when they received any order they did not understand, their officers said they were impertinent.

Sixthly. That they were drilled continually, and that the old men were tired and incapable of understanding the drill, and if they made mistakes their officers struck them.

Seventhly. That when out in the field their men were always divided into small companies and scattered in various directions, and could at any time have been destroyed by the enemy, being thus divided and dispersed.

Eighthly. That their system of fighting was ignored, and whatever they said regarding the Zulu movements in warfare were disregarded, and they were told to shut their mouths.

Ninthly. That the Zulus would fire at them as long as their ammunition lasted and then hide, and they, the Contingent men, were ordered not to kill them, but take them alive, and when men in caves fired at them they were not allowed to go in and kill them, but were ordered to make prisoners of them.

Tenthly. That whilst the Zulus spared no one, they were not allowed to kill wounded men.

The foregoing is the substance of the statements made to me by the indunas of the different tribes.

The Chiefs and indunas are unanimous in expressing their very strong desire to be allowed to fight tribally and in their own way and under their own indunas, with white leaders whom they know and who can speak their language.

If the natives are to be employed again in military service, I would strongly urge a favourable consideration of the foregoing wish of the native tribes to be allowed to fight in their own fashion; employed thus, under white leaders who understand them, they will doubtless render valuable service; if again called out and placed under the late organisation, they will be discontented, and may become insubordinate and a source of danger rather than of strength.

(Signed) Pieter Paterson,
Resident Magistrate, Weenen County.

Resident Magistrate's Office, Estcourt,
February 4, 1879.

No. 9 E.

His Excellency. February 7, 1879.

These men, after the return of Colonel Glyn's column to Rorke's Drift about the 24th January, were willing to go back to Zululand and fight again, but they wanted their shield, the white people, to go also.

Their complaints are :—

Insufficiency of food.

That when they captured cattle they were not allowed, according to their custom, to kill some of them.

That they had no food for three days, that many of their men were flogged for making water within certain forbidden bounds and for washing in certain streams, &c., never hearing any orders they were not to do so.

That they could not understand their officers. That they were drilled continually, and incapable of understanding the drill, and if they made a mistake their officers struck them.

That when in the field they were divided into small companies and could at any time be destroyed.

That their system of fighting was ignored, and whatever they said as to the Zulu movements in warfare was disregarded.

That the Chiefs and indunas were unanimous in expressing their very strong desire to be allowed to fight tribally and in their own way and under their own indunas, with white leaders whom they know and who can speak their language.

(Signed) A. H. Mesham,
Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

No. 10.

February 11, 1879.

These are important papers, and deserve very careful attention.

I have already expressed my opinion that the real question is not between tribal and regimental organization but between discipline and undiscipline, between raw levies and trained fighting men. To be efficient the tribe must be organized, under a good fighting commander, in manageable bodies, call them regiments or companies or by any other name; and there is no difficulty in organizing a regiment tribally if it is desired.

For the present such an organization as exists under the Magistrates for purely defensive purposes may do to help in resisting a raid into Natal. It is all we can do at the moment; and if sufficient men are called out, armed, and set to watch, and organized to report, it may materially help to meet a raid..

But for offensive purposes, or to resist a raid made by a large "impi," with some more definite object than cattle-lifting, such raw levies are next to useless. They may be auxiliaries; they cannot be effectual as the main force or any part of it.

Of the grounds of complaint enumerated by Mr. Patterson some must be attended to in any force and under any organisation, tribal or regimental, *e.g.*:—

1, 2, and 3. Want of food.

4 and 5. Bad officers, who cannot understand them and treat them properly.

6, 7, and 8. Useless drill and inattention to their habits of fighting and working in the field.

The other two complaints, 9 and 10, the prohibition to kill unarmed and wounded men, will show us that it would not do to leave a tribe to the uncontrolled command of even the best of native Chiefs. It is evident that we have not yet quite reached the bottom of the question how to provide an efficient native contingent to act in Zululand with our troops.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

No. 11.

February 22, 1879.

The complaints made by the natives lately belonging to the contingent attached to No. 3 Column, and the reasons given for their dispersing and going to their homes, have no doubt a sub-structure of truth, but I do not believe that there was any serious cause for dissatisfaction up to the day of the Isandula misfortune, except that the natives were not supplied with food on the 21st, consequent upon their not returning to camp as originally intended.

There were, I believe, in every company officers or non-commissioned officers who were capable of making themselves understood. The men were arranged by companies tribally, and had their own indunas; several Chiefs also accompanied them.

There was so much hesitation and delay on the part of the Natal Government in calling out or even in giving permission for the calling out of the 6,000 natives asked for, that it was impossible to make as good arrangement for their organisation as I should

have wished. Natal could not supply the requisite number of Europeans, and I was obliged therefore to indent upon the Cape Colony.

Whilst fully recognising the necessity of having an interpreter in each company, capable of explaining the orders of the commander or the wishes of the men, I entirely dissent from the axiom which it is apparently the endeavour to lay down, that those officers who cannot speak the Zulu language are not only of no use with natives but absolutely an encumbrance.

If all the qualities required for a company leader are to be found in addition to that of speaking Zulu, there can be no question that he is the right man, but if an officer is selected purely for his linguistic knowledge, without reference to the other necessary qualities, then he can only turn out a failure.

Colonel Evelyn Wood has just had to get rid of men of the latter stamp, and has substituted British officers in their place (who are quite innocent of Zulu), with the most satisfactory results.

As the High Commissioner points out, natives when brought together under whatever conditions must have some recognised and workable organisation, and must be sub-divided into recognised units corresponding to regiments or companies.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-Governor.

No. 12.

MINUTE PAPER.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, Upper Tugela.

HIS EXCELLENCY, February 14, 1879.

LIST of killed and missing men of Sikali's tribe.

Complaints by men of the Amangwani tribe at the treatment they received.

For your Excellency's information,
(Signed) A. H. MITCHELL, C.S.

MINUTE.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE of Upper Tugela District to the HONOURABLE the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

February 7, 1879.

SINCE writing to you on 25th ultimo, Upper Tugela, $\frac{28}{1879}$, and on 26th ultimo, Upper Tugela, $\frac{30}{1879}$, to which Minutes I have not yet received replies, more of the men of Sikali's tribe have reported themselves as returned from the camp at Isandhlawana.

The last report of the Chief shows the loss sustained to be :—

Killed or missing, horsemen	- - -	27
footmen	- - -	73
		100
Wounded (returned) horsemen	- - -	6
footmen	- - -	7
		13

I LEARN there are other men lying at or near Umsinga in a weak or wounded state, and have sent messengers thither to make inquiries regarding them.

I regret to state, for the information of his Excellency, that there exists a strong feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the members of the Amangwani tribe, the prevailing idea being that the contingent sent from this division has not been fairly used.

I have been obliged to listen to the complaints of these people, and have told them I would refer their statements to the proper quarter for inquiry.

I therefore now beg to submit these complaints.

It is stated,—

1. That some of the force levied from this division, was placed under the command of men who could not speak the Zulu language, or spoke it so imperfectly as not to be understood.

2. That the footmen, or a large number of them, were marched into action without any other arms than assegais, which they had no opportunity of using, and that these men were therefore only targets for the enemy.

3. That the mounted men had to fight as footmen, and that they have suffered serious losses in horses and saddles.

4. That the pay to the mounted men who find horses and saddles is apparently no more than that of the footmen who supply no such equipment.

5. That they have been led into action in a manner to which they have been totally unaccustomed.

(Signed) ALBERT P. ALLISON, R.M.

For HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

February 15, 1879.

I SEND for your Excellency's information, this report by Mr. Allison, Resident Magistrate of the Upper Tugela, on the subject of the loss of the men of Sikali's tribe who were at Isandhlwana, and on the subject also of their command.

Sikali's tribe furnished 150 mounted men and 250 footmen or thereabouts. I can only give the round numbers, as I have not with me, at this moment, the return. It will be seen that they lost heavily.

It will not, in my opinion, be advisable to disregard the dissatisfaction expressed by this tribe, or by others, as to their experiences under the system adopted with the Native Contingent which has been attached to the military command.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

February 16, 1879.

RETURNED with thanks.

Clearly these complaints should be investigated before the men are again sent on service.

As to complaint:

No. 1. Who was in command of these men? and who appointed the officers who could not speak Zulu?

No. 2. Why were they not better armed?

No. 3. What provision is made for meeting such losses?

No. 4. Why are mounted men no better paid than footmen?

No. 5. Is a complaint not easily investigated.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

COLONIAL SECRETARY, February 17, 1879.

REGARDING these various complaints, I think the case stands thus:

1. The appointment to the command of these men has been by the Lieutenant-General.

2. With regard to the arming of the men the responsibility rests with the Government of Natal.

We had not many firearms for natives, nor did we think it advisable to arm all the natives that were called out. We decided, therefore, to arm only a portion, 10 in every 100, or 100 in every 1,000. We thought that that could be sufficient for the purpose, and that the rest had better be armed with their own native weapons, assegai and shield. This, of course, refers to footmen. I believe all the horsemen have been armed with carbines

The experience of the war has shown that a far larger proportion of the men must be armed with firearms in fighting against the Zulus.

3. I do not know why the mounted men had to fight as footmen. Compensation must be given to those who have lost their horses and saddles.

4. I believe that the pay of the mounted men who supply horses and saddles is more than that of footmen.

The Colonial Secretary can find this out by inquiring of the Deputy Adjutant-General.

5. This is involved in the whole question of the command and management of the native levies.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

HIS EXCELLENCY, February 18, 1879.

WE are getting about 1,700 Enfields from the Cape, but even then we shall scarcely be able to do more than double the per-centage of our natives armed with muskets.

Except for the supposed increased confidence given to the men, I am not sure that recent experiences have not proved that the assegai is a more deadly weapon than the firearm in native hands.

As to pay, originally 30*s.* a month, rations, and forage was authorised as a native horseman's pay, but on a representation from Edendale the pay was raised to 3*l.* a month. A footman gets 1*l.* a month and rations.

The military authorities will compensate these men, I presume, for the loss of their horses, as they do others.

With regard to the grave question of command, I fear that we were quite right in objecting to the method in which our natives were organised.

(Signed) A. H. Mitchell,
Corresponding Secretary.

For His Excellency the High Commissioner.

February 19, 1879.

My Minute and Colonel Mitchell's for the information of your Excellency. I shall request the Resident Magistrate of the Upper Tugela, to send in a return of the losses in horses and saddles sustained by these men.

(Signed) H. Bulwer.

February 20, 1879.

Returned with thanks.

I think the Deputy Adjutant-General should forward these papers to his Excellency Lord Chelmsford for his information and for any comments with view to future action.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

February 22, 1879.

Lieutenant-Colonel Durnford had the organisation of these men entirely in his own hands, and whatever officers he recommended were appointed.

It does not follow that a Zulu-speaking European is a good or gallant officer.

In many instances example is better than precept, and Colonel Wood has actually removed the Zulu-speaking officers from his Native Contingent for inefficiency, and substituted British officers in their place, and the good behaviour of the Native Contingent under this new organisation is attributed entirely to the good example set by these officers. I deprecate the so-called regimental system being cried down without further evidence.

The Natal Government from my first arrival in the Colony objected to the natives being armed with firearms, and I had great difficulty in getting its consent to the small proportion, which was eventually sanctioned.

A board should assemble to inquire into the losses of horses and equipment.

The Natal Government considered that horsemen ordered by the Supreme Chief should not be paid more than footmen, provided compensation was given for loss of horses.

This rule, however, was not carried out, or rather was soon altered.

It is impossible, to ascertain the accuracy of No. 5 complaint, without further evidence.

(Signed) Chelmsford,
Lieutenant-General.

No. 13.

Memorandum. February 20, 1879.

I gather from the communications I have received from his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Forces in South Africa, and from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, that considerable changes will be made in the disposition of the Forces, employed in carrying on active operations against the Zulus; as well as in the measures adopted for Colonial defence against raids into Natal, that a larger number of natives will have to be called out, both for Colonial defence within the Natal border and for operations in Zululand; that the organisation of the bodies employed, both in defensive and offensive operations, will be different from that heretofore adopted; and that his Excellency the Lieutenant-General will not be able to remain long in Pietermaritzburg, before going to the border.

2. It appears to me therefore to be essential that no more time should be lost in concerting such measures as it is necessary to take in concert for the safety of the Colony and for the more efficient prosecution of operations against the Zulus.

To this end I would submit for the consideration of their Excellencies :—

1. That his Excellency the Lieutenant-General should record briefly the disposition of his forces, which he contemplates as far as affects Natal.

2. That he will note the outlines of the measures he wishes adopted by the Colonial officials and forces for Colonial defence against raids into the Colony.

3. That he will specify the numbers of the natives which in his opinion the Colonial Government should call out for offensive, as distinguished from defensive, purposes.

4. That he should describe the organisation and armament he thinks requisite in either case.

5. That he should select a competent officer to take the place of Officer Commanding the Forces in Natal, when his Excellency himself crosses the border.

6. That his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor should briefly record his own views on the four first of the above heads, viz. :—

1. Disposition of regular forces in the Colony.
2. Defensive distribution and organisation of Colonial Forces to check raids.
3. Statement of numbers of natives he thinks he can call out for defensive, as distinguished from offensive, purposes.
4. Statement of organisation he proposes, and of requirements in the shape of arms or other equipment which are not at present available in Colonial stores.

7. That when opinions have been recorded on these points they should be orally discussed seriatim, and a decision come to on each head which will be a guide for the future.

8. If I can be of any use in the discussion or in giving effect to the decisions, I need not say that my services are at the disposal of their Excellencies as long as I am here.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

No. 14.

Memorandum.

February 21, 1879.

I shall be very desirous to have the opinion of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General, before he proceeds again to the front as to the further steps to be taken for the defence of the Border and the Colony; and I am anxious to forward his Excellency's views and to help to meet his requirements in the field in every way that I possibly can do so.

(Signed) H. Bulwer.

Memorandum.

Pietermaritzburg, March 4, 1879.

I regret that I have not had time to reply to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's Memorandum of 7th February last, until to-day. I am unwilling to continue the controversy regarding the tribal and regimental system as adopted in the Natal Native Contingent, and I only wish to say that the tribal system as sketched out by Sir Henry Bulwer was fully carried out in Commandant Lonsdale's Contingent, and that the names of the officers of that Contingent were submitted to and approved of by him before being appointed. I am aware that this was a mere matter of form as his Excellency could not have any personal knowledge of the officers in question; but it is important as showing that I did not, as stated by his Excellency, appoint these officers without reference to him.

The system sketched out by his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor as to how in his opinion the Native Contingent should be officered, so as to retain his power over them as supreme Chief could only answer under the supposition that very competent men are nominated to the command of the Contingent, as the representatives of the Government of Natal or the Lieutenant-Governor as the supreme Chief; and that they would subordinate their own military views to those of the military Commander under whom for all military purposes they are expected to act.

It appears to me to be a system fraught with great danger, as creating an imperium in imperio, and one that would be liable to lead to dangerous complications in the field.

It appears to me tantamount to appointing a military officer to command a battalion, but giving the command of the companies to civilians.

With the exception of the officer being nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor, all the other details of the system as sketched out by his Excellency were carried out.

Commandant Lonsdale has distinctly stated that no non-commissioned officer in his regiment was allowed to give any order or to interfere in any way with the natives of the several companies. They were with him simply what I always desired them to be, viz., personal escorts to the company officers.

I merely used the expression "supreme *military* Chief," as representing my position with regard to the command of the Native Contingent, and not as arrogating to myself a special position in the Natal Colony.

There can be no question that any force, whether European or native, which is placed under my command must, if there is to be any discipline and obedience to orders, look upon their commander for the time being as supreme, and I feel sure that the Native Contingents, when in the field quite recognized that fact.

I cannot understand what his Excellency means by saying that "the connexion between their lawful supreme Chief and the Natal Native Contingent" was severed by my act and without reference to him.

Although as Sir Henry Bulwer justly says, the system I pressed upon him was not in accordance with his Excellency's views, still it was acquiesced in by him without meeting with his approval, at my solicitation.

As regards the complaints made by Umhungo, I have only to state that they must be looked upon as second hand, as that Chief was not in the field. His brother Jikoto accompanied the Contingent, and according to Commandant Lonsdale's report to me on the 23rd January expressed his perfect willingness to serve again with his men. The men were under their own native leaders. I endeavoured to obtain European officers in Natal, in order that the natives should have those with them who knew and understood them, but they were not to be found, and I was consequently forced to apply to the old Colony for those who had served under me before.

The Lieutenant-Governor has not quite appreciated my meaning as represented by him in the concluding paragraph of the Memorandum under report. All I objected to was that a mass of natives should be placed at my disposal without any organization than the vague one shadowed forth under the term "tribal."

I have now received another Memorandum written by his Excellency Sir H. Bulwer for the information of the High Commissioner, in which the tribal system as interpreted by Sir Henry Bulwer is more fully sketched out.

It recognizes the necessity of bodies of a certain strength, and of these bodies being subdivided into smaller fractions. It provides for a commander of the larger body, and for sub-commanders of the fractions. It insists upon the European leaders being recognized as the representatives of the supreme Chief; but, in other respects, this so-called tribal system, is merely a feeble imitation of the regimental one.

This must necessarily be the case.

When large numbers are brought together to act as soldiers they must be divided and sub-divided, or command and interior management becomes impossible. I cannot but think that his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and myself have been arguing this question out without having thoroughly understood that the points of difference between us are not really vital ones.

Had I been in possession of his Excellency's present views six months ago, I feel sure that it would have been possible to have organized the Native Contingent in a manner which would have been satisfactory to us both.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Natal.

To HIS EXCELLENCY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NATAL.

March 5, 1879.

IN forwarding Lord Chelmsford's remarks on his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's Memorandum of 7th ultimo it is not my wish to prolong this discussion. I think it has led to both parties more clearly understanding each other, and I would suggest that instead of discussing the past, the rules under which Native Levies may be called out for future service should be laid down for future guidance by joint consent of

his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Forces.

I believe that their Excellencies have settled the terms on which natives shall be called out for purely defensive purposes within the border. But native levies will be needed to accompany any advance into Zululand, and it would save much trouble and future discussion if the precise rules applicable could be settled before hand.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

No. 16.

Colonial Secretary, Pietermaritzburg, March 5, 1879.

1. Before replying to the accompanying Minute of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the Lieutenant-General Commanding is desirous of ascertaining clearly what forces are actually at present under arms and occupying positions in the districts named. Will you therefore kindly furnish me with a state of each district, with the distribution already made by the Colonial district commanders.

2 While upon the subject of Colonial defence, with a view to putting an end to general uneasiness from threatened invasion, to ensuring the security of the border population, and to preventing the natives along the border being constantly tampered with by the enemy, I would most strongly urge the importance of being in readiness by the time when the rivers may be expected to fall, with a considerable levy of natives, say from 20,000 to 30,000, placed along the border in bodies of from 1,000 to 2,000 at each drift, so that a general, simultaneous, and systematic raid might be undertaken into Zululand with the object of driving back the Zulu population for 10 or 12 miles from the border. This course, the adoption of which has I believe been already advanced by Lord Chelmsford, would distract the enemy's attention, lessen his powers of feeding and concentrating large bodies, and give greater facilities for action to the forces under Colonels Pearson and Wood.

(Signed) W. Bellairs,
Deputy-Adjutant-General.

No. 17.

For His Excellency the High Commissioner.

March 7, 1879.

With regard to the future I have laid down my views in a separate Minute.

I quite admit that it does not necessarily follow that a Zulu-speaking European is a good or gallant officer.

What is contended, however, is that it is of the highest importance that the natives of this Colony should as far as possible be under officers knowing their language, when possible under officers known to them, and that, to some extent at least, they should be under some one representing the Government by whom they are ordered out.

With regard to the Lieutenant-General's other remarks, I must observe that what hesitation there was on the part of the Natal Government was a hesitation at the time when the Lieutenant-General with his Head-quarters Staff arrived here, and when the arrival of a great number of troops had given rise to so much uneasiness and distrust among the Zulus then expecting the award in the matter of the "disputed boundary," and beginning to be agitated with the reports which reached them that preparations were being made with a view to the invasion of the Zulu country, to do any thing unnecessary that would increase that distrust on the part of the Zulus, provoke the crisis which we wished to avoid, and disturb our own native population, which amidst all the surrounding disturbances had remained quiet.

Then there was the hesitation as to the Lieutenant-General's method of calling out the native population and organising it into regiments.

When, subsequently, it was decided that, 6,000 men should be furnished to the Lieutenant-General on the regimental system, it was necessary, in taking the steps for procuring these men, to proceed with a due regard to the political exigencies at the time and to acquaint the Native Chiefs beforehand with the objects for which these men might be required; and the Secretary for Native Affairs went round himself in person, in order to speak to the Chiefs on the subject, and to give them notice to have their men in readiness.

When the intimation was received from the military authorities desiring that the men should be called out, instructions were sent to the Magistrates to call them out. In their assembling there was some delay here and there; but every effort was made to hasten the assembling, and what delay there was was not very considerable.

The Lieutenant-General is mistaken when he says that the Natal Government from his first arrival in the Colony objected to the natives being armed with firearms, and that he had great difficulty in getting its consent to the small proportion which was eventually sanctioned.

The Natal Government had long before the Lieutenant-General's arrival discussed the question of arming native levies and had decided that the proportion of firearms, so far as available to be used in native levies called out by it, should be 10 for every 100 men.

I am quite prepared to admit that a larger proportion is required in native levies having to face Zulu forces.

It is doubtful, indeed, if the men armed with firearms will be more effective in fighting than when armed with their own weapons; but it is unquestionable that the possession of firearms gives a confidence to the men which they will not have when armed only with their own weapons.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER.

No. 18.

February 28, 1879.

MY views, briefly expressed, on the four heads named in your Excellency's Minute, are as follows:

1. Regarding the disposition of regular forces in the Colony.

According to present circumstances I consider that there should be sufficiently strong garrisons at Durban and Maritzburg; that there should be detachments at Stanger, Greytown, Estcourt, and Ladismith, or at some post on the border in advance of Ladismith.

Excepting at Estcourt all these conditions are actually existing. With regard to Escourt, as I have elsewhere pointed out, its position is one that cannot fail, as I understand, to make it of great strategic importance, in the event of any troubles arising in Basutoland, or elswhere across the border. There is a fine blockhouse and laager there, which could be held easily with a small detachment of troops in addition to the people of the district and the men under the command there of Major-General Lloyd, the Colonial Commander of the district. I do not, however, pretend to say that the presence of a military detachment there is necessary at this moment when there is so much need for the services of troops in the field. Should, however, any trouble arise in Basutoland, I would strongly advise that attention be paid to Estcourt.

2. Regarding the defensive distribution and organisation of Colonial forces to check raids.

The Colonial European forces in Natal consist of the mounted police, and of volunteers, mounted and foot. Nearly all the mounted portion of these forces, both the police and volunteers, was put some time ago at the disposal of the Lieutenant-General, and formed parts of the columns entering the Zulu country.

But a very few mounted men were left behind for defence. The foot, or infantry volunteers, consist of a corps at Maritzburg, a corps at Durban, and a corps at Pinetown.

All these foot corps should, I think, be left at the places to which they belong, for their defence.

At Pinetown a laager has been constructed, and it is an important place on the line of communication between Durban and Maritzburg.

At Durban there is also a small artillery corps (about 48 men) with two guns. This corps should also, I think, remain for the protection of Durban.

Then, for the further defence of the Colony:—For defensive purposes the Colony is divided into seven districts (exclusive of Maritzburg and Durban, which are separate sub-districts). Over each district is a Colonial district commander. In each district there are one or more posts of defence, with supplies of arms and ammunition.

Each Colonial District Commander has under him these posts of defence and whatever forces exist or can be raised in the district, for its defence.

The districts which border the Zulu country are districts Nos. I., VII., and VI.

In district No. I., there are at present, and for the present, many of Her Majesty's troops, at Rorke's Drift or the vicinity, and the Natal Mounted Police and volunteers attached to Column No. III.

Under the Colonial District Commander there are in the field, or protecting the border a small irregular mounted force of 50 men (20 Europeans and 30 natives) patrolling a portion of the district; and a native levy, 1,500 strong or thereabouts. I have directed that the levy be increased to 2,000, and if possible to more.

In district No. VII., which comes next on the border, the Colonial District Commander has under him various posts, stationed along the border, with a European leader at each post, and an available body of 1,500 natives. He himself is stationed at a convenient post, with a reserve of 500 men.

Arrangements are being made for despatching to this district a further body of natives, 2,000 or 3,000 strong. A portion of this body will be mounted, and this levy will be stationed at such place or places in the district as the Lieutenant-General, who is about to proceed there, will designate.

In district No. VI., which is a district adjoining the border near the coast, the District Commander has under him for guarding the border a body of nearly 1,000 natives, and a further force of the same number is being ordered out from the Umbazi and Alexandra divisions. In addition the native population along the border is capable of turning out, as I understand, about 1,000 men for defending the border, should it be attacked.

Along the border line of the three border districts there is a force of border police about 200 in number.

I have said nothing as to the defensive posts in the three border districts above named, and there are other minor arrangements besides those which are above mentioned; but what I have mentioned will show the general nature of the defensive field arrangements, under the Colonial District Commanders, along the border.

In districts Nos. II. and III., which lie immediately behind the border districts, the District Colonial Commanders have various posts of defence, and have made various arrangements for the defence of their districts. In the former a native levy of 1,500 or 2,000 is being established, and in the latter a small native force has been established in an entrenched position at Bayne's Drift.

Of districts IV. and V., which lie to the south of the Colony, the District Commanders have been called out, and arrangements made for the defence of the defensive posts in case of any emergency. But these districts, being comparatively far removed from the Zulu border, no force, European or native, has, as yet, been put in the field for service in those districts.

Though I speak of European forces, yet, in reality, these would, at the best, amount to very little. The Colonial-European forces consist of the Mounted Police and the Volunteers, to whom I have already referred beyond them, the European population is so small and so scattered that there is little material for the formation of any European forces.

The European inhabitants of the towns and suburbs of Pietermaritzburg and Durban would, of course, take part in the defence of their towns. The European inhabitants of any country district would, for the greater part, resort to the defensive posts—public or private, in the district, in case of an attack. And, as nearly all the Mounted Police and Volunteers have been handed over to the military authorities, there remains available for any service in the field, but a very small portion of the European population who would be willing or able to place themselves at the disposal of the District Commander for patrol or other work. The real defence, in fact, of the several districts, as distinguished from the posts of defence in the districts, would lie with the native population, acting under the Magistrates and the District Commanders in the native levies called out.

This is a point to be noticed and borne in mind in considering the defensive resources of this Colony.

Apart from the Queen's troops, and apart from the Mounted Police and Mounted Volunteers, the defence of the defensive posts would lie with the European population of the Colony, which is small enough; the defence of the districts outside of the defensive posts would lie almost exclusively with the native levies.

The above remarks show the general present distribution and condition of the Colonial forces. In every district, I should say, there ought to be an available force of 3,000 or 4,000 natives at the disposal of the District Commander. It would be desirable that he should have also a small European force at his disposal; but this is not feasible, or is only feasible to a very small extent.

The organization of the force which is available for the defence of the district, namely, the native levy of the district, is a simple one. The levy is composed of tribal bodies, each tribal body being under its tribal leaders, and under such European leaders, and, if necessary, such sub-leaders, as may be appointed, the whole being under the command of the District Commander separate commands being constituted where necessary. The distribution and movements in any district will be according to the judgment of the Colonial District Commander, subject, where the Colonial District Commander is placed under military command, to military directions.

3. *Regarding the Numbers of Natives which can be called out for defensive, as distinguished from offensive Purposes.*

The number of able-bodied natives in the Colony has been returned by the different Magistrates, upon a rough calculation, at between 50,000 and 60,000. The calculation has been made according to the number of huts in the Colony, and has been arrived at in no certain or satisfactory manner.

From all that I can learn, I am disposed to place the number of able-bodied fighting natives in the Colony, available for native levies, at not exceeding 40,000, which gives an average of between 5,000, and 6,000 to each of the seven districts. This may be taken to represent the available body of men that could be raised as native levies, in the Colony, for its defence. The numbers required to be taken for offensive purposes have to be taken from this number.

Regarding the Organisation and Requirements, in the shape of Arms and other Equipment, not at present available in the Colonial Stores.

4. I have above touched upon the organisation. When a force of natives is required for military purposes the organisation under the military authorities and mode of establishing such a force should in my opinion be as follows:—

The force would be made up of distinct tribal bodies, each tribal body being kept distinct and separate by itself; unless it were a very small one, when two or three such bodies might be put together. Each tribal body could have its own tribal leaders, and its European leaders, who should be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, with, if necessary, one or more European sub-leaders. The tribal bodies could be grouped into corps, to meet, approximately, the strength required. Over each corps there could be a European leader in charge of the corps, and representing the Lieutenant-Governor. Each corps could then be placed under such military officer (not, I think, under the rank of captain) as the Lieutenant-General might appoint, who would be in military command of the corps, having the command and direction in all matters relating to its movements in the field, its position in the camp, and in all the military operations and duties it would be required to perform. He would exercise this command through the officer representing the Lieutenant-Governor, or, where necessary, through the several European leaders. The government and internal organisation of the corps would rest with the officer representing the Lieutenant-Governor. All the orders relating to the native corps from the Lieutenant-General or the officer commanding column or Her Majesty's troops in the field would be given to the military officer in command of the corps, who would be also the medium of communication between the corps and the military authorities and departments, and who would take care for the interests and comfort of the corps, in obtaining for it from the military departments all necessary requirements in respect of rations and articles of equipment. He would also advise and assist in all matters relating to the formation, drill, and instruction of the corps, being careful not to enforce any drill or formation which could not easily be adapted, but seeking to turn the existing system of formation to the best account. Whenever it should be found desirable to detach on service, either for the day or for any longer time, or for any particular duty, any portion or portions of the corps, a military officer could always be appointed, if thought desirable, to command a detachment of the corps in the same [way] as the military officer placed in command of the corps.

With regard to arms and other equipment for native forces, the original proposal of the Government was that only 10 per cent. of the native levies called out, should be armed with firearms. We had about 1,300 Enfields; and, with other muskets, could have made up the number of firearms for this purpose to 1,500 the contemplated proportion for 15,000 men. Then we had sent home a requisition for 2,000 Sniders, half of which number we should have made available for natives, in this way provision being made for 10,000 more men, according to that scale.

Some of the natives also are in duly authorised possession of firearms, and this would have added to the per-centage.

It is clear, however, that to face the Zulus a larger per-centage of firearms is required for any native force. I should say that 50 per cent., instead of 10, should be so armed, if possible.

We have obtained, or are obtaining, some 2,000 more firearms through the courtesy of the Cape Government. We have lent to themilitary some 630 Enfields of the first lot, besides Sniders and Swinburne-Henry carbines, for their mounted corps. It is certainly desirable to obtain more for the native levies.

Equipment in the shape of tents, great coats, and blankets, and cooking pots is required.

(Signed) H. Bulwer.

No. 19.

Minute.

March 7, 1879.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has permitted me to see his Minute on Lord Chelmsford's Memorandum dated 28th February 1879, regarding the present military position in Natal and Zululand.

2. I fear that his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's observations will hardly satisfy his Excellency Lord Chelmsford, that when reinforcements arrive from England he will have ready on the Natal border the native auxiliaries he will require for a further advance into Zululand.

3. It must be remembered that time presses. It was nearly six months after the General's arrival in Natal before Her Majesty's forces crossed the border, and owing to unsual drought and other causes it was then full late to ensure the conclusion of operations in a single season. The check on the 22nd January has caused a delay of nearly six weeks, and our chance of bringing the Zulu King to reason this season may very materially depend on everything being prepared for a prompt advance, as soon as the reinforcements are landed.

4. Whether the operations shall occupy one season, or two, is a question which, without exaggeration, may invoke the expenditure of millions and the loss of many valuable lives.

5. I mention these facts not to revive discussion regarding the past, but as my reason for begging that our undivided attention should now be given to the present and the future, and that all energies should be united in bringing operations to a speedy and successful issue.

6. Lord Chelmsford's Memorandum of 20th February was directed mainly to what was required for the defence of the Colony against invasion by the Zulus.

7. It was intended, I think, with the concurrence of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that after getting to the border all the native forces which could be assembled for the defence of the border the General should depend for native auxiliaries to take part in an advance into Zululand on volunteers from the border forces, so that all the natives who went forward should cross the border voluntarily, and not by compulsion.

8. This, of course, requires not only that the numbers should be ample (so that when volunteers go forward sufficient force should remain behind to guard the frontier) but also that the whole force should be on or near the frontier when reinforcements arrive, as they will, we hope, begin to do in a few days.

9. Now looking at the terms of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks on his Excellency Lord Chelmsford's Memorandum, it will be seen that they are statements of what has been proposed, rather than of what has been done, and of difficulties in the way of doing more.

10. I would instance the resolution of the Executive Council.

Lord Chelmsford had used an expression to the effect that every able-bodied male native in the Colony should be turned out for active service.

I read this in a very general sense, as meaning, simply, every available native who could be spared, but the resolution of the Executive Council deals with the proposition literally, as if the General had asked for all farm and domestic servants, which, of course, he never could have meant.

Nor does the resolution, after negativing an obviously impracticable proposition, suggest any alternative.

11. I may observe, in passing, that the first levies of natives for military service caused, I believe, considerable inconvenience to private parties, owing to its being left entirely

to the Chiefs to call out the men wanted, when of course they preferred sending men already in service rather than those who were idling about their kraals. Considering the small proportion which men in service bear to the whole native population, it strikes me that some device might be hit upon, so that men in service should only be called to go to the front as a last resort.]

12. But it seems to me that the time has now come when we ought to make the most careful calculation without further delay as to what we require? what we have got? and what we further need?

13. As regards defence of the frontier against invasion, we have in the General's Memorandum an approximation to a calculation of what we require.

But his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's reply does not show what we have actually got. It merely states what is ordered and expected and the difficulties in getting more.

14. I would suggest, therefore, that this should be supplemented by a return of men actually present for duty.

15. It is, I submit, of little use to say that the men will be forthcoming when called out. For defensive purposes such men in reserve cannot be in time.

An "imp" would be into the Colony and back again in Zululand before orders could reach the tribes to call out the reserves.

16. Nor will such reserves be of much use for the advance. A fortnight or three weeks is a very short time to allow for calling up the men, seeing who will volunteer, arming, equipping, organising, and officering the bodies to go forward, and we have not now a fortnight or three weeks to spare.

17. I have shown before that we are still some distance from a settlement of what we can do for defence.

18. But as regards forward movements are we much better prepared than we were months ago?

The General, now that he knows the strength of the reinforcements to be expected, will be able to calculate the number and strength of his advancing columns, and the routes by which they will enter Zululand, he will be able to say whether he will require more natives, or fewer, to cross the border than he had in January. If I am right in this supposition, the Lieutenant-Governor will be able to ascertain the General's requirements without delay.

20. But the auxiliaries with the columns will only be a portion of the natives required. The transport for the material of the increased force will task the resources of the Colony, and unless the Lieutenant-Governor, as Supreme Chief, can assist, I hardly see how the military department can meet the General's requirements.

21. So, again, large numbers of labourers will be required for the repair of roads, drifts, &c., and for providing cover for roads and men.

22. I have very briefly and imperfectly summarised what I have on previous occasions indicated as what seems to me to be wanted.

It is quite possible that the native system of Natal may not afford all the means of supplying all that is required. In that case I think no time should be lost in ascertaining and stating the exact extent of its deficiences, in order that we may look to other quarters for such assistance as can be got.

23. What I would now earnestly urge is, that time presses, that there is not a week or a day to spare, or the loss of which may not add enormously to the aggregate cost of operations; and that therefore every united effort should be made to enable the General to move forward promptly and effectively when his reinforcement arrive.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

Extracts from Minutes of the Proceedings of the Executive Council, 1st March 1879.

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. . . "His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor laid before the council two Memoranda by his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding, dated respectively the 20th and 25th of February 1879, on the subject of the present condition of the defensive forces of the Colony, and making sundry proposals for its improvement.

The papers were read at the table.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor pointed out that there were two matters in the documents under consideration which called for an expression of the views of the

Council; namely, the suggestion regarding the expediency of raids being made into Zululand from Natal, and the proposal that all the available natives in the Colony should be called out for six weeks.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Council.

(*a.*) That in the opinion of this Council the proposition that raiding expeditions should be made into the Zulu country by the natives of this Colony is unadvisable of adoption, as being an impolitic and undesirable system of war, as being calculated to provoke retaliation, and as tending to demoralise the people engaged in it.

(*b.*) 1. That the proposition to call out every available native in the Colony is open to serious objections.

2. That a large proportion of the able-bodied male population has already been called out, and that this Council considers it undesirable to press the power of the Supreme Chief to a point that would probably cause serious discontent amongst the natives.

3. That all trading, commercial, and farming operations would be thereby disorganised and ruinous consequences would ensue, the natives forming practically the only labouring portion of the population in the upper districts of the Colony.

4. That the calling out of the whole able-bodied male population would, in all probability, induce a panic, and be attended with serious inconveniences."

* * * * * *

True extract.

W. BROOME,
Clerk of the Executive Council.

No. 20.

For HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

March 7, 1879.

I HAVE no desire to continue this controversy. On this account, therefore, I abstain from entering into any notice of the various points in the Lieutenant-General's Minute, which otherwise I might be disposed to think require notice. I will only observe that there is much in the Lietenant-General's Minute with which I cannot agree, both with regard to the past and with regard to the interpretations he puts upon what I have said.

I wish this to be fully understood, so that by my not now recording what I might have to say with reference to the contents of the Lieutenant-General's Minute, it may not be assumed that I accept or indorse all that is said in that Minute.

I am extremely anxious to do everything that I can to meet the Lieutenant-General's views and requirements, and I am very desirous to come to an agreement with him as to the manner in which any further native force that he may require may be supplied to him.

(Signed) H. E. BULWER.

Received 11th March 1879.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

No. 21.

For HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

March 7, 1879.

WITH regard to my Minute of this date on the subject of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General's Minute of the 4th instant, I have to observe, that at present the case stands thus—

Exclusive of the arrangements for defensive purposes, the Lieutenant-General has applied for 800 natives to join a battalion that has been established by him under Captain Cherry.

My views regarding the establishment of Native Corps were laid down in the concluding portion of my Minute of the *

What appears to be necessary is, that there should be some definite understanding as to the numbers of any further native force that may be required and can be raised in the Colony, and as to the mode of the formation and management of such a force.

If the Lieutenant-General will name the numbers which he requires or considers necessary, I shall be able to state how far these numbers can be supplied.

We might at the same time discuss any questions touching the raising and management of these forces, with regard to which nothing shall be wanting on the part of this Government to meet as far as possible the views of the Lieutenant-General.

(Signed) H. E. BULWER.

No. 22.

Received March 11, 1879.

As the Lieutenant-Governor and the Lieutenant-General were to meet to-day at Pine Town to discuss this subject, I trust it will not be necessary to continue the discussion further by Minute.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

No. 2.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH. (Received April 21, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Estcourt, Natal,
March 20, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE noticed that in speaking of the present Zulu war, it has been observed by a most intelligent, generally well-informed, and influential public writer that "it would "not be safe to rely on the energetic co-operation of the Cape," and something of the same kind has been repeatedly said by more than one of our leading English journals.

This seems to me to indicate a very imperfect knowledge of what the Government of the Cape has done, and I fear that possibly, in the press of work, I may have omitted to do justice to the patriotic and energetic spirit shown by the Cape Ministry who, in this respect represent, I believe, very faithfully the feeling of the Colony generally.

The Cape Government indeed appears to me to have done all and much more than could have been expected from it. It has spared a regiment and a half of Her Majesty's forces, taken its own recently subdued rebellious districts entirely under its own charge, and is sending to Natal very useful contingents of volunteers, native levies, waggon drivers, supplies of arms, and means of transport in mules, horses, &c.

The tone and spirit generally shown by the Cape Government and people will naturally be compared with that shown by the sister colony of Natal, whose interests are so much greater; and without any reflexion on Natal, the population of which has risen to the occasion, the comparison will be by no means unfavourable to the Cape.

It must not be forgotten that the nearer we approach the seat of war, actual or threatened, the greater will be the natural disinclination of Colonists to volunteer for any but home service, and to leave their houses defenceless. This is, I feel sure, the principal reason of any disinclination to encourage volunteering for service in Zululand, and the threatened disturbance in Basutoland will naturally disincline the Cape Colonists to weaken too far their own means of defence.

In my Despatch of the 5th November last,* and in a previous one dated the 2nd September last,* I drew attention to the extent of the efforts made by the Cape Colony to provide for its own defence, and I shall be glad if Her Majesty's Government is able to correct any misapprehension on the subject, and to do justice to the loyal and patriotic spirit shown by the Cape Colony, both towards making itself independent of external aid, and assisting its neighbours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

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* No. 6 of [C.-2222] of 1879 and No. 68 of [C.-2220] of 1879.

No. 3.

TELEGRAM from Sir BARTLE FRERE to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

FROM Sir Bartle Frere, on road to Potchefstroom, May 3rd :—Prospects in Transvaal seem quieter, enabling Lanyon to go to Utrecht border and obtain for Chelmsford and Wood whatever further aid he can get from Transvaal towards further operations in Zululand. Chelmsford informs me that he has asked for three additional battalions for garrison purposes. Zulu resistance seems to be slackening, but unless very decided improvement has taken place in his prospects since he wrote to me on April 21st, beg to support his request, for reasons detailed by post. Chiefly reinforcements seem necessary to conclude the war in one campaign and to avoid prolonged operations. In consequence of inability of Natal Government to give Chelmsford support he asks for in native levies and other Colonial auxiliaries at present, Chelmsford is unable to spare reinforcements for Transvaal, and there is some risk of a relapse from present satisfactory state of feeling between Transvaal malcontents and Government. Added at Government House, Cape Town, May 6th :—Intelligence received via Kimberley that the High Commissioner arrived at Potchefstroom on the 3rd, and met with most cordial reception.

No. 4. (Received May 7.)

Colonial Secretary's Office, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

(Received May 7th from Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, without any covering despatch.)

RESOLUTIONS.

PUBLIC MEETING held in Cape Town on Monday the 24th March 1879.

THE following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"That this meeting desires to express its perfect confidence in Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa (Sir Bartle Frere), and to tender to his Excellency its heartiest sympathy and support in the present emergency, and at the same time to record its high appreciation of the prompt and noble response made by the Home Government to the necessities of our fellow Colonists at Natal."

GRAHAM'S TOWN.

COPY of RESOLUTIONS passed at a Public Meeting held in the Shaw Memorial Hall on the 27th March 1879, Samuel Cron Wright, Esq., M.L.A., in the chair.

Moved by Hon. Geo. Wood, M.L.C., seconded by Robert Godlonton, Esq., J.P. :—"That this meeting, being convinced that the tranquillity of South Africa can only be "secured by the complete establishment of British supremacy and control over the "native races, fully approves the policy of His Excellency the Governor and High "Commissioner in demanding from the Zulu King the disbanding of his army and "reparation for outrages committed, and earnestly desires that hostilities may not be "concluded until solid guarantees have been obtained for the future peacefulness and "submission of the Zulu people."—Supported by Samuel Cawood, Esq., J.P., John E. Wood, Esq., John Walker, Esq., and Josiah Slater, Esq., B.A.—Motion put and carried by acclamation.

Moved by the Very Rev. the Dean, seconded by Frederick Barr, Esq.—"That this "meeting thankfully recognises the prompt sympathy and aid of the Imperial Govern-"ment in sending out reinforcements to the imperilled Colony of Natal, as being a "benefit conferred upon all South African Colonies and States and as a fresh claim upon "the devoted attachment and loyalty of these dependencies of the British Crown."—Supported by Jonathan Aylift, Esq., M.L.A.—Motion put and carried by acclamation.

Moved by Geo. Wood, junr. Esq., seconded by P. T. Jones, Esq.—"That the Mayor "be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere "and also to the Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Secretary of State for the "Colonies."—Motion put and carried unanimously.

I certify that the foregoing is a true copy.

(Signed) GEO. REYNOLDS,
Mayor.

PUBLIC MEETING held at Port Elizabeth on 1st April 1879.

THE following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"That this meeting hereby expresses its cordial sympathy with, and fullest confidence in, his Excellency the High Commissioner, being persuaded that the policy his Excellency is seeking to carry out in South Africa is eminently calculated to secure the permanent tranquility of the country, and the welfare of its inhabitants.

"That this meeting hereby expresses its gratitude to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and the warmest thanks to Her Majesty's Government for the kindly sympathy and prompt assistance rendered to the imperilled Colony of Natal."

Town Office, King William's Town, April 3, 1879.

EXTRACT of minute of a public meeting of the burgesses of King William's Town, held in the Town Hall on the evening of Monday, the 31st March 1879, W. G. Townsend, Esq., in the chair. The following resolution was proposed :—

"That this meeting heartily sympathises with his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere in his present trying position, and expresses its entire confidence in his wishes for the welfare of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and its gratitude to the Imperial Government for so promptly sending reinforcemente to South Africa in its hour of need."

The above resolution having been put to the meeting by the chairman, was carried by a large majority, and the chairman instructed to forward it to his Excellency the Governor.

(Signed) W. G. TOWNSEND,
Chairman.

PUBLIC MEETING held at Graaff Reinet on the 27th day of March 1879.

It was proposed and unanimously carried :—

"That this meeting having heard with the greatest satisfaction the manner in which the metropolis has come forward to approve of the policy of his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, cordially endorses the Cape Town resolution, and wishes to express in the plainest possible language its greatest sympathy with the Governor in the very trying position in which his Excellency is placed at the present moment."

(Signed) G. H. MAASDORP,
Chairman.

PUBLIC MEETING held at the Town House Ceres, on the 1st April 1879.

The following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"That this meeting most heartily concurs with, and approves of the policy and action of the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, respecting the existing Zulu war, which this meeting believes to have been from its commencement, not only just and necessary, but inevitable, and which it earnestly hopes will not be concluded until sufficient guarantees have been obtained for the future peace, submission, and government of the Zulu nation, without which substantial guarantee this meeting is of opinion the future peace and safety of the South African Colonies cannot be secured, owing to the prominent influence of the Zulu nation upon neighbouring barbaric races; that this meeting desires to express entire confidence in Sir Bartle Frere's humanity, wisdom, and determination to bring the Zulu war and the general Native question to a firm, lasting, and satisfactory conclusion. That this meeting hereby records its grateful acknowledgment of the prompt, energetic, and generous action of the Home Government in forwarding reinforcements in order to obtain for all South African Colonies lasting peace and security."

MUNICIPALITY OF SWELLENDAM.

Resolutions passed 8th April 1879.

1. Proposed by J. J. Barry, Esq., M.L.A., seconded by J. Z. Human, Esq., M.L.A.: —" That the people of Swellendam in public meeting assembled, hereby record their satis- " faction with the loyal and well-timed movement in Cape Town, to strengthen the hands " of Sir Bartle Frere in his present difficult position and their cordial approval of the " following resolution passed on the 24th March last by a large public meeting in the " Commercial Exchange of that city :—' That this meeting desires to express its perfect " ' confidence in Her Majesty's High Commissioner Sir Bartle Frere and to tender to his " ' Excellency its heartiest sympathy and support in the present emergency, and at the " ' same time to record its high appreciation of the prompt and noble response made by " ' the Home Government to the necessities of our fellow colonists at Natal.' "

2. Proposed by J. G. Sutton, Esq., seconded by J. G. Steyn, Esq., M.D.C. :—" That " the resolution just passed be forwarded to the Hon. J. Gordon Sprigg, Esq., Colonial " Secretary, with a request that it may be transmitted to Her Majesty's Secretary of " State for the Colonies and to the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B., &c., Governor " of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner of South Africa."—Carried.

Swellendam, 8th April 1879.

RESOLUTION agreed to at a Public Meeting held in the Town Hall, George, on the 4th April 1879.

" That this meeting in grateful recognising the generous aid of the Imperial Government in promptly despatching large reinforcements to Natal, at a most critical juncture owing to the disaster which unhappily befel a portion of Her Majesty's Forces in Zululand, desires to record its approval of, and perfect confidence in, the general policy in South Africa of his Excellency the High Commissioner, particularly in the vigorous prosecution of the requisite measures in order to enforce the disbandment of the army of the Zulu King which has been maintained for the purposes of bloodshed and cruelty, and as a menace to the sister Colony of Natal.

RESOLUTION adopted at a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Queenstown held on the 2nd instant.

First.—" That this meeting begs to express its cordial sympathy and confidence in his Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner Sir H. B. E. Frere, and heartily approves of his policy in dealing with the Zulu King and his people."

Second.—" That this meeting desires to express its thankfulness to Her Majesty the Queen and the people of England for the prompt manner in which aid was forwarded to the sister Colony of Natal in her urgent difficulties."

Third.—" That copies of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to his Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner by the chairman of this meeting."

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BISSET BERRY,
(Chairman of Municipal Commissioners,)
Chairman of the Meeting.

No. 5.

WAR OFFICE to COLONIAL OFFICE.

SIR, Central Department, War Office, May 8, 1879.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for War to transmit, for the information of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the accompanying copy of a Despatch which has been this day addressed to the General Officer Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in South Africa.

I have, &c.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

(Signed) RALPH THOMPSON.

My Lord, War Office, May 8, 1879.

Having now received your Lordship's full Despatch of the 10th ultimo, reporting the successful result of your operations for the relief of Etshowe, I hasten to renew the congratulations which I addressed to you on the receipt of Colonel Bellairs' telegram announcing your successful action at Gingilovo.

The satisfactory result of your operation was, I feel convinced, largely due to the careful arrangements made by your Lordship for the march of the relieving column.

I have noticed with much satisfaction your Lordship's favourable mention of the various commanding, staff, and departmental officers with your force. The services rendered by Captain Barrow especially appear to have been most valuable, and I note with pleasure the assistance rendered to you by the Naval Brigade.

I have to express the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government that so complete a victory should have been obtained with the loss of so few lives.

The tenacity with which Etshowe was held by Colonel Pearson and the force under his command until relieved by your Lordship deserves the highest praise.

I do not doubt that you have done what is best under all the circumstances of the case in giving up that post and occupying a fresh one at Gingilovo, where it is considered that the difficulties of supply will be less.

I have also received, through Colonel Bellairs, Colonel Wood's reports of the unfortunate result of the fighting on the 28th March and the brilliant repulse and pursuit of the enemy on the following day.

While deploring the heavy loss sustained by the troops on these occasions I must express my high appreciation of their coolness and gallantry under very trying circumstances.

I note with great satisfaction the part taken by the Colonial troops in these operations, though I deeply regret the heavy losses they have sustained.

The country has to deplore the loss of many gallant officers. It is difficult to single out individuals for special notice, but I must express my sorrow at the loss of Mr. Piet Uys, whose services on this as well as on other occasions have been so fully recognised by those under whom he has served.

I have, &c.

Lieutenant-General (Signed) Frederick Stanley.
Lord Chelmsford, K.C.B.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 6.

The Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart., to Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart.

Sir, Downing Street, May 15, 1879.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 20th March,* in which you draw attention to the patriotism and energy displayed by the Cape Government and Colony.

I have already had occasion to notice the public spirit manifested by your Government and Parliament in the measures recently adopted by them with respect to the Colony, and in the valuable assistance so promptly and spontaneously afforded to Natal, and I would again express to you my high appreciation of the loyal and ready co-operation of the Government and people of the Cape Colony at the present crisis.

I have, &c.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., (Signed) M. E. HICKS-BEACH.
&c. &c. &c.

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* No. 2.

No. 7.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, BART. (Received May 16, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Newcastle, Natal,
March 28, 1879.

SIR,

I DEFERRED my departure from Pieter Maritzburgh till the 15th instant in order to ensure meeting Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who had been detained at Harrismith for five days on his way down from Transvaal by the swollen state of the rivers in the Orange Free State.

2. His Excellency Sir Henry Bulwer overtook me at Estcourt, and we travelled together to Ladysmith, where, after a day's halt, I took leave of his Excellency and came on hither.

3. A traveller by this route can hardly fail to be struck by the obvious sense of insecurity, evidence of which meets him at every stage.

Most of the wayside hotels had preparations for barricading, and musketry defence. Strong permanent laagers have been constructed at Howick, Estcourt, and Ladysmith, sufficient to shelter the whole of European population of the little townships and their neighbourhoods.

4. The laager at Estcourt is a strong permanent building tenable, as long as the tank water lasts, against any force unprovided with artillery; and, with the permanent part of the laagers at Howick and Ladysmith, should always be kept in repair and clear of encroachments as military posts. They were, when I passed, completed and defensible, but the inhabitants of the neighbourhood must have passed an anxious time during the six weeks succeeding Isandhlnana.

5. The district from Howick to Ladysmith is that which in the early days of the first Dutch colonists was the scene of frequent Zulu inroads and massacres.

At Weenen, Blawkrantey, and elsewhere, cairns of stones cover the remains of considerable numbers of the "Foretrekkers," including women and children, who had been surprised and massacred not more than 40 years ago, and we met, among the older Dutch inhabitants, many who were then actors in the scenes of those days, and some of them had lost as many as nine members of their own immediate families in action or massacre.

6. It is no matter of surprise that those who had so suffered should have a keen sense of the insecurity of their present position with Zulu "Impis," more formidable than those of Chaka, within 40 or 50 miles of open country from their farm houses.

All of the Dutch farmers we saw told us of neighbours and friends who since the war alarms had trekked for safety to the Orange Free State, so that by far the larger portion of the Dutch and many of the English farms were wholly or partially deserted.

7. But it was evident that up to the time of the present alarm the Dutch inhabitants, who vividly remembered the events of 40 years ago, had failed to convey to the English Colonists who had come to live among them, or to the Colonial Government, any adequate sense of the real insecurity of their position. Few things struck me more than the evident haste and temporary character of the defensive measures undertaken by the English part of the population; and I only trust, for their own sakes, either that the Zulu terror will be entirely removed, or that they will make better preparations for defending themselves in future.

8. As far as I could learn, hardly anything had been done for defensive measures in the country through which I passed up to the time of Sir Henry Bulwer's arrival. Since then a commencement had been made in carrying out some of the measures recommended by Sir Garnet Wolseley; but the progress made had not been sufficient to remove the extreme peril of the position as reported on by Sir Garnet Wolseley.

9. Most of the events connected with the military position will have been already reported to Her Majesty's Government through more direct channels.

With much regret I forward for the information of Her Majesty's Government copy of the Official Report of a disaster, which on the 12th March befell a detachment of the 80th Regiment under command of Captain Moriarty, 80th Regiment, while convoying a train of wagons from a point where the Little and Great Intembi join to Luneberg. Fuller reports of the whole matter will soon, I am assured, be forwarded to his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding, and will, I trust, modify the present very unsatisfactory aspect of the disaster.

10. Among the enclosures will be found a report from Colonel Wood of an expedition despatched to collect the remainder of Ohamu's people. It will be seen that Colonel Bulier, who was in command of the force employed, succeeded in bringing the people

safely from the caves in which they were hiding to join their Chief at Colonel Wood's camp.

11. It was expected that the force to relieve Ekowe would this day cross the Tugela, and I trust therefore in a few day's time, that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford will be able to report the successful relief, provisioning, and re-garrisoning of Colonel Pearson's position.

12. Very little information has reached me from Basutoland. I forward a telegram from the Hon. Charles Brownlee, by which it will be seen that the attitude of some of the Basuto Chiefs is not so satisfactory as could be desired. The news of the arrival of the re-inforcements will probably have a quieting effect upon any Chief wavering in his loyalty, and inclined to follow the example of the Chief Morosi by taking up arms against the Government.

13. His Excellency Colonel Lanyon reports that the mass meeting of the discontented Boers adjourned, in order to send him an invitation to be present. He declined to have anything to do with meetings en masse, but consented to receive a deputation of representatives, who waited on him on the 24th.

14. I have the honour to forward a detailed report of what passed, but from this report, and from a brief note written by Colonel Lanyon immediately after the meeting, I fear that no satisfactory result was attained. At Colonel Lanyon's request I purpose proceeding to Standerton, about 70 miles on the road to Pretoria, and there awaiting further communication from His Excellency.

15. An interesting letter from Bishop Schroeder will be found among the enclosures.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

P.S.—Since writing the above, reports of a severe engagement of the mounted portion of Colonel Wood's force at the H'Whane Mountain on the 28th, and of a successful general action, resulting in the entire defeat of the Zulu army at Kambula Hill on the 29th instant, have reached me. Of these reports I forward copies, together with extracts from a private note from Colonel Wood. By next mail I trust I shall be in a position to transmit to Her Majesty's Government full details of what, I trust, will prove to have been a decisive victory, though they may possibly reach you by a more direct channel.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

No. 2.

MILITARY SECRETARY to HIS EXCELLENCY the HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Kamhila Hill, March 16, 1879.

OHAMU came in as reported on the 10th instant, and having requested me to endeavour to get in his wives and family, I sent off on the 12th instant 20 of his men to endeavour to collect his people. Early on the morning of the 14th a party, consisting of 360 rifles under Lt.-Colonel Buller, C.B., 30 burghers under Piet Uys, and 200 men of Ohamu's under direction of Mr. Lloyd, left this camp. Lt.-Colonel Buller, C.B., was in command of the patrol. I accompanied the patrol in order to see the country, and because I considered that my presence would be an inducement to Ohamu's men to accompany, as the latter had begged me to look upon his men as my "dogs." Leaving the camp at 5 p.m. on the 14th we reached the caves near Inhlangawine Inambrin, 12 miles to the east of the sources of the Umcovvi River and about 45 miles from this camp at 9.30 a.m. The last seven miles occupied three hours as we had to cross a very difficult hill. We shot a few Zulus, and took a few cattle that had formerly belonged to Ohamu; we at once commenced to collect the women, and at about 8 a.m. on the 15th James Rorke and Calverly, who had accompanied the party, reported that we had got all the party out of the caves.

We started back at about 9 a.m., and reached the Jungen range on the evening of the 15th instant. A few shots were fired at us from the Inblobane at a long range. There appeared to be about 800 or 1,000 men on the Inblobane range.

The position is stronger and more difficult to take than I anticipated.

I have now returned to camp at 1 p.m., 16th, bringing with me 958 souls of Ohamu's people.

(Signed) EVELYN WOOD,
Colonel.

No. 3.

EPITOME of STATEMENTS made by four ZULUS of OHAMU'S TRIBE to COLONEL EVELYN WOOD, commanding No. 4 Column, interpreted by L. Lloyd, Esq., Political Assistant.

"WE marched with the impi to Sandlwana with the Nodwenga corps but did not get in to the camp in time to kill anyone; all the white men were dead. They were nearly all assegaied. Very few were shot. Almost every man was stabbed in front. Those who were stabbed behind must have been surrounded, for the white soldiers never looked behind to run but died standing together. Most of them were killed in the ravins. Some said some are gone on to the river. Let us go that we may not go back without having fought. We went to the river but did not cross. The Undi and Udhloho corps crossed. When our people saw the troops returning from Matyana's they ran away leaving all the wounded on the ground, going to where we rested the night before the fight. We left many wounded on the ground. The cannons killed several (literally stripped us bare), but not nearly so many as the rifles. It is not true that our men in the rear pushed on those in the front, or that our men were driven on by our Headmen. We all went willingly. If the General's force saw Zulus returning from the river on the 23rd January they were only scattered parties coming back from the fight at the Drift, and were not formed in bodies. The cannon were left where they were taken. We all dispersed next morning. Jyinwayo was commanding in chief, Mavumengwuna was second."

(Signed) EVELYN WOOD, Colonel.

Kambula Hill, March 17, 1879.

No. 4.

To HON. W. LITTLETON, P.M.B.

Brownlee, Makabela, viâ Kokstadt.

HEARD that all was not right with Lekana and came here to see about it and to arrange the location of Wood's men at Onjeluk's Nek, and the removal of O'Connor to Ngalshas Nek. Wood's men not up yet. It is generally believed by natives here that Litse is in collision with Morosi. There is, therefore, some hanging back especially on the part of Likana, who appears to be acting under the influence of Umhlonklo. I have deposed Lekana from being headman and appointed his brother Luxdugwana who has acted well. Wood will have 150 Europeans and 300 natives under him. O'Connor 90 Europeans and 200 natives, but he may call out more if necessary. Expect that Wood's men will be in position to-morrow. Hear that Umhlonhlo is having another war gathering and that his war doctor is away? Libenga, Zibi, Makanla, and Jojo are thoroughly loyal; while this is so Umhlonhlo and Lekana can do no harm.

Saturday, 22nd March

No. 3/210.

Office of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Town,
8 March 1879.

SIR,

I AM directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter received from the Chief Magistrate, Griqualand East, relative to the state of affairs in his district for the information of His Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. E. RICHARD BRIGHT,
Under Secretary for Native Affairs.

The Private Secretary to
His Excellency the Governor,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

SIR,

Kokstadt, 18th February 1879.

POLITICALLY, matters in this division stand precisely as they were at the date of my last report.

I fully anticipated that before this the Zulus would have made an aggressive move, this not having taken place, and with our two military camps within 40 miles of Cetywayo's residence, and threatening him, and no attempt made to resist them, there is

every reason to believe that the Zulus have suffered more in their encounters with us than we imagined, and that they have been more disheartened by their losses than elated by the success they obtained at Isandhlawana, and it appears that the Zulus are now delaying an advance in the hope of obtaining a diversion in their favour by the Pondos and Basutos, and from other sources. I have heard that a deputation from Zululand is now with the Pondos endeavouring to stir up a rising against us, and though I think that report credible, yet it requires confirmation, but from all that I have been able to gather, I think it improbable that the Pondos would be induced to make an aggressive move against us.

I have been kept well supplied by the General Manager of Telegraphs, by wire, of all that transpires on the Natal border and Zululand, this information I have wired or sent by express to the several magistrates of this division, for communication to the people, who now look to this source of information instead of listening to the exciting rumours which in the beginning agitated the land and thus the excitement which for a while existed has passed away, and to all appearances matters in this division are again in a satisfactory position, this, however, refers to the present, and satisfactory appearances while the elements of danger exist should not lull us into a false security, as any advantage, or even alleged, or apparent advantage, which the Zulus may gain may materially alter the aspect of affairs, and this is effectually being guarded against by the reinforcements sent here and elsewhere, and other precautionary measures now being adopted by the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. Brownlee,
Chief Magistrate.

No. 7.

W. Littleton, Esq., to His Excellency the High Commissioner.

Dear Sir, Unitingambili, 3rd March 1879.

Two Zulus arrived here yesterday with a message from the King; the diplomatic part of the message is duly and fully communicated to Mr. Fannin; I beg therefore only to give some explanation regarding that part of the message which concerns me personally and my station, Entameni. The King says, look here, I have taken care of the deserted mission stations and not allowed them to be destroyed, thinking that the missionaries in time would return to them, such as Mr. Robertson's Kwamagwaza and Oftibro's at Ekhowe, but we now see what use the missionaries make of the station-houses; Robertson has come with an impi (army) to the Ekowe Mission-station, and there is made a fort of it, the houses being turned to advantage for our enemy's. Seeing this, my people have of their own account destroyed the other mission-stations, and although I have not ordered this destruction still I cannot complain of it, seeing that the houses on the stations will serve as shelter for our present invading enemy, I am in a fix what to do with your station Entuwani, for it is reported (amongst us the report is said to originate from a man from John Dunn) that the column at Miltangambill is to cross at Muagidis Drift (that means near Captain Tollnor's farm area, eight miles from the sea), march to Entumeni, turn the station into a fort, like Robertson has had the Ekowe turned into a fort, in that case I will much against my wish be obliged to destroy the house at Entumeni as a matter of self-protection, the last thing I ever thought of doing, as I have no grudge against you or your station. This is the substance of the King's message to me with respect to my station, Entumeni, it, therefore, now will entirely depend on the decision of the General Lord Chelmsford, whether the Entumeni station houses are to be destroyed or *not*, for if he has decided on making the Entumeni station a fortified entrenchment like that at Ekowe, all the houses, including the Church will be destroyed, the goods and chattel inside, namely the fittings, of the church, books, furniture, &c. &c., might be taken out and placed somewhere in the bush or even in the open, but at the present juncture, it is an impossibility for me to do this. In my opinion the station-houses, or rather the station is entirely unfit for an entrenchment, being too close to numerous bushes or small forests, and commanded by a near hill, besides it lies eight miles out of the main road from the lower Tugela Drift direct to Ematlabatini, where most of the great military kraals and undi are built. My answer to this part of the King's message is, "Tell me who the person or persons are who have informed you "that the column now here at Nuttangambili is to cross at Muagidis, go to Entumeni "and make a fortified entrenchment of it, for I then think I shall be able to prove that

" such a report is designedly brought about for certain motives, as although I am living " close to the said column I know nothing of said military scheme with respect to the " crossing at Umajidi's and marching from there to Entumeni, leaving the nearest " way to Ekowe; it is not at all likely that the English troops, if they ever intend " making more fortified places like Ekowe, will make such places so far away from the " main military road to the King's place; moreover, it is more likely, that the houses at " Entumeni in case of a new scare like that caused by the battle at Inyesane, would be " of greater use to them (Zulus) as a place of refuge for helpless women and children " like the station was on the civil war 1856, when I by God's help, was enabled to " protect over 800 helpless females and children from being molested, killed, or taken " captives; I therefore now send the keys of the church and the other buildings, " that they be open for helpless children and females in case of a new scare." (N.B. If I had been at Entumeni the 22nd January, we should have had the station full of females and children who were flying from their homes seeking a place of refuge, not knowing where to go to, for the whole country right away to Emlonyanani, 17 miles from Undi, was scared away in wild flight after the defeat in the morning of 22nd January at Inyecane, spreading all along the bad news that the English horsemen and footmen were close upon them all over); " by injuring my Entumeni Station the King would deprive " himself of the help and counsel, I otherwise might afford him."

As there has been some malign talk with respect to our communication with the king, I shall only mention how our for more than a month cut-off communication with the king again was opened. The last message from here to Entumeni went over the 22nd January. Since that date the Entumeni congregation heard nothing from us, nor we from them. About the middle of last month it was rumoured through some border policemen that a dressed native had appeared at the Middle Drift wishing to get across from the Zulu side; although said Native said he was a Christian messenger from Entumeni, the ferrymen would not take him across, pretending that he was only a Zulu spy dressed in European clothes in order to deceive them. Trying to ascertain the truth I sent two of my congregation down to this Middle Drift to go across and send for Undikile (a friendly chief whose son Utlankana was taken prisoner here 8th February, and together with another prisoner sent to P. M. Burg) to induce him to send to Entumeni a blanket to Umakankana (Umavumengwana's man), who takes care of my cattle, and is to be paid every month, and to request the messenger who was said some days previous to have in vain been at the Drift, to come down again; but the ferryman again refused to take my messenger across to the Zulu side. They, therefore, only could shout across to a Zulu woman, who asserted that a messenger, Hosea, from Entumeni, had been down with a message, waited two days in vain, and then returned. She promised to bring word to Undikile to be down at the Drift the 21st February (Friday), and induce a known Zulu boy Nuzora to call the messenger from Entumeni, of course for promised payment. My two messengers were again sent 21st February to the Middle Drift, the ferryman duly instructed to take them across the river to the Zulu side, so they had a long talk with said Undikile, who was *very thankful*, hearing of the humane care taken of his son Utlankana, and promised to send the blanket to Umakankna which is duly done, I hear. Also the said Zulu boy Muzora had faithfully brought his message to the Entumeni people, and returned as convoy with two messengers from Entumeni, Hosea and Lem; they arrived little over mid-day the 22nd February. They reported that some unknown villain had commenced burning some outlying deserted houses; a petty chief, Usepeka, had threatened to burn the mission houses, but Prince Udabulamanzi and Umavumangwana (one of the Zulu generals at Isanlwana) had vigorously opposed and sent messengers to the King to ask if the King now intended to damage the station, having always promised to protect and not molest the station and the congregation there. They further reported in what very great peril and fear they had been after the battle at Ingesane and Isanlwana; but some headmen had assisted them by good counsels and hints, so they had been able to steer clear of many dangers. They also gave us the first true information about doings at Ekowe, and announced that as soon as Udabulamanzis and Umavumengwanis messengers had returned from the King, other messengers would arrive from Entumeni. These messengers came the 1st instant, followed by the King's messengers yesterday, and their political message will already, through Mr. Fannin, fully, I hope, have been laid before the authorities. This is a most important message at so critical a time, and may by diplomatical skill be turned to vital advantage. It seems that by a gracious dispensation many things are unexpectedly working for the good. The King was to have gone to Isiklepe to "*paka*" in person his "*impi*," but this has gradually died away; why ?! ! as yet unknown. It is most secretly whispered as a fact that Uhamis has

deserted the King; Usegelwayo's is dubious, and supposed to follow Uhamu; Nmngamane is prevented joining Uhamu because he is shut up at the King's. A great part of the army is said to be rather unwilling again to face the soldiers' fire.

The Zulu version of the Isan'twana story tells as some most remarkable things with respect to the battle and the effect of it on the Zulus. The Zulus, after having ransacked the camp, bolted off with the booty as fast as they could, when the English army was seen returning to the camp, even at a great distance. The detachment of the Zulu army seen by Glyn's column on its way, the 23rd January, back to Rorke's Drift, was a part of the Undi corps and Utako retreating from the unsuccessful attack on the Commissariat stores at Rorke's Drift. Amongst the horsemen was Udabulamanzi, who says that they were so tired and glad that Glyn's column did not attack them, for if attacked they would have bolted every one. Comparatively few and inferior oxen were brought to the King's, as the izindima appropriated to themselves the best and most of the captured oxen; Udabulamansi, for instance, took home 20 good oxen. The Zulus say that the affair at Isan'lwana commenced with a victory and ended with a flight, for, as it is the case after a defeat, the whole army did not return to the King, but the soldiers dispersed making the best of their way with what booty they had got, to their respective homes, and to this day they have not reassembled to the King, who is very much displeased with his two generals, Umnkingwayo and Umavumengwane, and other izinduna.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) J. C. Schreuder.

P.S.—Having already heard it I now also hear it from the Zulu messengers, who have seen them, that two missionaries (Hanoverians ?) are with the King. It will appear that they remained in the Zulu country somewhere in the northern part where Colonel Wood now operates, until the troops marched in, and finding them shut up, they sent to the King to ask what to do in their dangerous difficulty; he told them he could not answer for their safety if they remained at a distance and near the fighting army, but they would be protected if they came down to him; so they are now living in the houses formerly belonging to the Norwegian Mission near Nuedwengu. The messengers also report that the King has sent through a certain Ikolwa Klars (not known to me) that copy of Sir T. Shepstone's report which I, on behalf of the Natal Government, handed over to him from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, August 1875.

Already Umavumendaba had requested the King to send that book with the deputation that met at Tugela, 11th December 1878, in order that there might be proved from that book, wherein the King had sinned, since the English had put forth such warlike demonstrations; but Umavumendaba's request was not then acceded to. The King now sends this book that from the contents of it may be proved, wherein he has broken the compact made at his installation, 1st September 1875; but Klas has not as yet turned up; he is said to have made for a drift at Umgeni's further inland near the Ezudeni Mountain.

No. 8.

Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart. (Received May 16, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Standerton, Transvaal,

Sir, April 4, 1879.

The intelligence of Colonel Wood's most important and successful action with the Zulu army which attacked his camp at Kambula on the 29th reached me the next day at Newcastle, and was immediately forwarded to Lord Chelmsford and to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor. It probably, however, reached them earlier by the more direct route viâ Helpmakaar, and full details will be in the possession of Her Majesty's Government long before this Despatch.

I will therefore only bear my testimony to the great importance of the victory which seems to have been so well fought and decisive.

In a previous Despatch I have described how the English portion of the Natal population, Colonists within the last 30 years, had been awakened suddenly by our reverse at Isandhlana to the full proportions of a danger which had been only too vividly impressed on their Dutch fellow Colonists by their longer experience, many of them remembering Zulu inroads and massacres within their own time, and all having had the terrible events

of the earlier years of the "Voortrekkers" impressed on them by their elders of the generation now passing away.

In the neighbourhood of Newcastle and Utrecht the proportion of the Dutch element in the population is greater than elsewhere. And the evidence of the general feeling that a great and well-recognized danger was close at hand appeared, as we passed through, more pronounced.

The farmers had sent most of their wives and families over the Drakensberg into the Orange Free State. At Newcastle the goal and court house had been converted into an excellent and well proportioned laager, by the Magistrate, Mr. Beaumont, formerly an officer of Her Majesty's service, and his energetic and judicious measures had restored public confidence in the township. A company of Her Majesty's 4th Regiment had arrived a few days previously, and were putting their barracks, about a mile from the town, into a state to be defended.

At Utrecht the inhabitants were sleeping every night in a well ordered laager under direction of the very intelligent Landdrost Mr. Rudolph, returning to their houses during the day.

Owing to the Landdrost's precautions, and to the presence of three companies of Her Majesty's 4th Regiment protecting the large accumulation of stores at Utrecht, many families had stayed who would otherwise have "trekked."

We received on every hand evidence of the terror which had been inspired by our disaster at Isandlana. It had reminded the Dutch that the Zulu warriors were unchanged in courage and ferocity, and even increased in numbers and power since the days of Chaka and Dingaan. It had convinced the English that the stories they had heard from their old Dutch neighbours were no exaggerations, and that the defensive precautions which the survivors of the old "voortrekkers" had so long and so vainly recommended afforded the only chance of safety should the Zulus push their inroads a few miles further into the Colony.

Among the Colonial Zulus and other Kafirs the panic had been still greater. As the news spread among them, even more rapidly than among the white population, they fled, some to a distance, but more frequently to some shelter of rock or forest or secluded glen in the neighbourhood, hoping that any invaders would pursue their traditional system of sweeping off herds from the open country, destroying kraals and their inhabitants, whilst they avoided fastnesses where armed men might stand on the defensive.

Confidence had begun to return, especially as the news of reinforcements arriving spread through the Colony, when the intelligence of the destruction of Captain Moriarty's ill-fated detachment by Umbellini near Luneberg revived the alarm in the Utrecht and Newcastle districts.

It affected English and Dutch alike, not only by its evidence of undiminished energy and enterprise on the part of the enemy, but as proof of the difficulty of persuading the officers and men of our own disciplined troops to adopt those precautions which were the safeguards of Boer laagers in former wars, but the use of which we are too apt to attribute to the over-caution of our Dutch fellow Colonists.

Whilst we were at Newcastle Mr. Rudolph brought us intelligence only a few hours old of the losses sustained by Colonel Wood's mounted force in their patrol to the Illobane Mount, and the death of Mr. Piet Uys and Captain Campbell. The news had lost nothing in travelling, and in some of the accounts the names of Colonels Wood and Buller were added to the list of killed.

The effect upon all classes was very marked, but it was followed so speedily by the news of the decisive victory the next day that general confidence was soon restored.

News does not however travel fast in this direction, and all accounts from Pretoria represent that the great body of the Boer population is still under the belief that the Zulus are more than a match for us, that our difficulties in Europe and Asia are more than we can surmount, and that the present is a favourable opportunity for demanding their independence.

Since the conference of some of the committee of malcontent Boers with Colonel Lanyon, of which I forwarded a note from Newcastle, his Excellency reports their conduct and talk to have been more threatening, and their reported plans to indicate a more general determination to resort to force in order to regain their independence. They observe the utmost secrecy as to their intentions, ejecting from their camp all who are suspected of letting the Government know what goes on. Their numbers are variously estimated at from 2,000 to 4,000 men, well armed and supplied with provisions. They have gradually moved their camp nearer to Pretoria, and placed it on the post road from Newcastle, where the post cart driver and passengers state they have been saluted in passing with intimation that "no more post carts of the British Government

" would be allowed to pass that way " . These intimations, however, like the threats occasionally used of " shooting the Administrator and other high officers of Government, " putting them over the border," &c., &c., are, we may hope, more the utterances of idle young braggarts than any reflex of the opinions of the more sober-minded leaders ; but there can be no doubt, judging by what I hear from well-informed and well-affected gentlemen of the same class, that the leaders of the movement find it very difficult either to control or direct the opinions or movements of the less instructed mass of discontented men they have brought together; and I am assured on what I consider very good authority, that they have elected leaders who have been compelled to bind themselves to lead " should action become necessary."

But it may be doubted whether these misguided men have any leader whom they really trust. Most of the more capable or prominent men are suspected by the shrewder of their fellows, and by many of their followers, of designs for their own selfish advancement, and there is, besides, a very large minority who, while disapproving of the annexation and willing to declaim against it, harbour no disloyal intentions, and would be sorry to see the annexation reversed, but who have been compelled to join the malcontents by threats and intimidation.

The dangerous feature is that it is very difficult for the more moderate party to separate themselves from the violent agitators, and there can be no doubt that some of the latter have gone the length of inviting the co-operation of native allies to rise against the British Government.

My present purpose is, adopting Colonel Lanyon's suggestion, to remain at Standerton till I hear again from him.

It is reported that representatives of the malcontents will meet me on the road.

On my way thus far I have seen most of the farmers who live near the road I have taken, including large numbers of Dutch from the Newcastle, Utrecht, and Wakkerstrom districts, who had come, some for security, some for pasture, to this side of the Drakensberg.

These people are living in tents and waggons in the " veldt."

Nothing can be more respectful and loyal than their demeanour and language; but they complain bitterly of the threats and intimidation used by the malcontents to force them to join their meeting, and, as one of them said, " he was more afraid of the rebels " than of the Zulus."

Some came from a considerable distance to ask me for protection against their countrymen. They said the usual language of the malcontents was that " the English " would now be turned out of the country, and that the Republican Government would " confiscate all the property of those who had not joined them."

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

No. 9.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 16, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Standerton, Transvaal,
April 5, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your information copies of the correspondence that has passed on the subject of a message from Cetywayo to Bishop Schroeder, and sent through the two chiefs Dabulamanzi and Umvumengwana.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
March 4, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a communication received from Mr. Fannin, the Border Agent of this Government at Krangkop, in the Umvote, in which he reports that two Zulu messengers have arrived at Bishop Schroeder's with a message from Umvumengwana and Dabulamanzi to Bishop Schroeder.

The message appears to be one sent in on the part of the King, though it comes directly from the two Chiefs above named, who have asked Bishop Schroeder to forward it to the Government.

At the request of Bishop Schroeder, Mr. Fannin appears to have received the message and to have embodied it in the communication now enclosed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

P.S.—I should observe that both the Chiefs above-named, Umvumengwana and Dabulamanzi, are principal generals in the Zulu army, the latter being a brother of the King.

Enclosure 2 in No. 9.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTE to HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Kranz Kop, March 2, 1879, 10 p.m.

1. With reference to my Minute of yesterday, I have the honour to report for His Excellency's information, that the two Zulu messengers referred to therein have arrived at Bishop Schroeder's, their names are Amlangana and Mankona, they are associated with the Entumeni natives—Johannes Joan, Nickodemus, and Joel, in bearing a message for Bishop Schroeder from Umvumengwana and Dabalumanzi, and they ask him to forward it on to Government. To save time and trouble the Bishop has requested me to receive the message from the messengers' own lips and communicate it to his Excellency, he was present during its delivery.

2. The messengers state that Cetywayo lately heard it would be possible to send a message to Bishop Schroeder by Middle Drift, and ordered Umvumangwana and Dabulamanzi.

He has long been desirous of communicating with the Government, but the last time he sent messengers to Lower Tugela they were detained, and he thought it was useless sending any more; he begs that those eight men may be released, as he has always understood that the person of a messenger was sacred.

3. As regards the war, he protests that it is not of his seeking, he never refused to comply with the demands of the Government made at the Lower Tugela, he had collected the cattle and endeavoured to arrest Sirayo's sons, but they fled to Umbelini, near the Swazi country.

4. When the English troops crossed into Zululand he did not consider that in itself a declaration of war; he thought matters might still be settled by negotiation. Having caught Sirayo's sons, he sent them bound, together with the cattle, in charge of his army to meet the General. His orders to his Indunas, Tyingwayo and Umvumangwana, were not to fight, but to hand the prisoners over as evidence of his good faith, and then make arrangements for a meeting at which all matters in dispute might be duly discussed and settled. On arriving at Isandula they tried to open communication with the English force, but in vain; any Zulu that showed himself was immediately fired upon. At length a party of horsemen fired on some of the Umcityu regiment; it was returned. Umvamengwana and other officers tried to put a stop to the fight, but the young regiments pressed on and refused to retire; the others had to support them, and the engagement became general.

5. As regards Colonel Pearson's column, it was allowed to march in unmolested until he burnt kraals and committed other acts of hostility.

6. The King now begs the Government will withdraw its forces from Zululand and allow negotiations to be resumed with a view to a peaceable settlement. He does not

ask to be treated with indulgence, but with fairness and justice. He is willing to give up Sirayo's sons and will carry out his coronation engagements; he is not conscious of having broken them, and wishes Government to point out in what way he has done so. The other demands he does not yet clearly understand, but is quite willing to give every attention to any proposal of the British Government. He was put on his throne by its representative, and he still looks to it for direction. If he is to be killed he should like to know the reason why first.

7. I have told the bearers of this message that I would forward it to his Excellency, and that they could remain with Bishop Schroeder until an answer was received from Pietermaritzberg.

8. I forward this by my native messengers to Greytown, to be there in time for to-morrow's post.

(Signed) JOHN EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

To his Excellency the LIEUTENANT-GENERAL COMMANDING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

APPARENTLY the messengers are from two leading Indunas of the King, and not direct from the King himself. If this is the case, it would seem to be sufficient that Bishop Schroeder should inform the messengers that in matters of such importance no message can be received as from the King unless it comes by his messengers and in a form to bind him. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor will be able to ascertain for us from the Native Department what that form should be.

I know not what messengers or messages are alluded to in Mr. Fannin's second paragraph. I have heard of no messengers from the King detained at the Lower Tugela, nor of eight men in confinement. Possibly the Lieutenant-General or his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor may be able to say what is meant.

But Bishop Schroeder may direct the messengers to inform those who sent them that a flag of truce is never fired upon, and may always be relied on as ensuring the safety of any messenger.

It is probably useless, in discussion with these messengers, to show the transparent falsehood of the account given in paragraphs 3 and 5 of what has passed.

It is difficult to suppose that they themselves believe it, and Bishop Schreoder is well aware of the facts which would enable him to disprove almost every particular of the statement.

He can assure them of the uselessness of proposals that the British troops should withdraw from Zululand till the King has complied unreservedly with all the demands made on him, which His Excellency the Lieutenant-General has entered Zululand to enforce, including such additions as may be rendered necessary as a consequence of the hostilities into which Cetywayo's omission to comply with former demands have forced us.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
March 3, 1879. Governor and High Commissioner.

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3. THE MILITARY SECRETARY to His Excellency THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL.

Forwarded for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General.

By Command,
(Signed) H. HALLAM PARR, Captain,
Military Secretary to his Excellency.

4/3/79.

Returned with thanks. I entirely concur in all that his Excellency has said in reply to the so-called message from Cetywayo.

I remember the circumstance of some messengers arriving at the Lower Tugela some days before Colonel Pearson's column crossed having been reported to me, as also the fact that they had refused to return.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Send this to Mr. Fannin, with the request that he will show these papers to Bishop Schroeder, with the request that the bishop will make a communication to these messengers in the terms of the Minute of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

7/3/79. (Signed) H. BULWER.

P.S.—Let inquiry be made at the Lower Tugela regarding the Zulu messengers referred to. Mr. Fynney I daresay will be able to give some information regarding them.

(Signed) HENRY BULWER.

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5. COLONIAL SECRETARY.

His Excellency's Minute herewith to be forwarded with these papers by to-morrow's post.

By Command,
(Signed) F. S. HADEN,
Private Secretary.

6/3/79.

6. SPECIAL BORDER AGENT, Kranz Kop.

His Excellency's minute for your information and guidance.

By Command,
(Signed) C. B. H. MITCHELL,
Colonial Secretary.

7/3/79.

P.S.—Send these papers to Mr. Fynney for his report on the 2nd paragraph of his Excellency's Minute.

(Signed) C. B. H. MITCHELL,
Colonial Secretary.

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8. BORDER AGENT, Lower Tugela.

Forwarded in terms of his Excellency's Minute. Please return papers here.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN.

9. THE HON. COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I return papers including Mr. Fynney's Minute.

Bishop Schroeder and myself made a communication to the Zulu messengers in terms of the Minute of his Excellency the High Commissioner, and they have now returned to those who sent them.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

11/3/70.

HIS EXCELLENCY,

For your Excellency's information.

(Signed) C. B. H. MITCHELL,
Colonial Secretary.

13/3/70.

10. For the information of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

15/3/79. (Signed) P. BULWER.

MINUTE.

ADMINISTRATOR AND BORDER AGENT, Lower Tugela, to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 10, 1879.

WITH reference to Umzwilskazi Tunwayo and the other five messengers, together with their attendants, who arrived here in January last, with messages from the Zulu King, I have the honour to state, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that they were not detained or prevented from returning to Zululand. On the contrary, I accompanied them to the Tugela Drift, and made every arrangement for their safety, but on seeing the troops on the other side the leading men expressed to me their disinclination to return to Zululand, saying that they were safe, but if they once got back into their own country nothing but death awaited them with so many soldiers going to fight, and all begged me most earnestly to take them and stand between them and death.

The men referred to are now at Stanger and quite contented, having been placed with some of the headmen of the division, and their only grief appears to be that the members of their families are not safe in Natal also.

(Signed) F. Bernard Fynney,
Administrator and Border Agent.

Minute.

Special Border Agent, Umvoti, to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

March 9, 1879.

I have the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that by yesterday's post I received the papers relating to the message from Zululand. I at once took them over to Bishop Schroeder, and we together made a communication to the Zulu messengers in terms of the minute of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

Having heard at the time, in a private letter from Mr. Fynney, that the eight Zulu messengers referred to in the present message had remained in Natal of their own free will, I explained this matter to the men.

The messengers said the King would rejoice to hear a way was open for him to send a message to Governor, and would doubtless avail himself of it. They begged the Bishop to give them a white flag to be used should occasion require it.

Both the Zulu messengers and the Entumeni men were, I think, rather surprised at the firm attitude taken; the latter, at a subsequent private interview, expressed their opinion that Cetywayo would probably send men direct with a message, and they propose returning with them with a view to remaining with their families here. They think it would be dangerous for them to remain longer in Zululand if hostilities are resumed.

I have no doubt in my mind that Cetywayo will never submit to the demands made upon him, and the great bulk of the Zulu nation will support him in his refusal.

All the messengers return to Entumeni to-day.

I have sent the papers to Mr. Fynney as directed, and will forward them as soon as they are returned.

(Signed) Jno. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Minute on the Papers relating to the Communication made to the Zulu Messengers through Bishop Schroeder. (Received March 15, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Standerton, Transvaal,
April 4, 1879.

It is possible that as operations are continued tentative efforts of the same kind will be made to ascertain the terms likely to be granted to the Zulus or their King in the event of their asking for peace. Much will depend on whether the application comes direct from the King, or only from one or more of his Chiefs.

It will not be safe to recognise as coming from the King any message which is not brought by Indunas of sufficient rank to accredit them as the usual bearers of a message from Cetewayo.

But it is not improbable that overtures for peace may be made by great Chiefs apart from the King.

In either case no time will, I am sure, be lost by his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor or the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Forces in forwarding to the High Commissioner the message, with their own remarks and opinion regarding it.

No overtures of any kind must be allowed to delay military operations till Her Majesty's forces are in possession of such posts as shall secure complete military command of the country and its communications.

Nor must any promise of any kind be held out which can in any way fetter the action of Her Majesty's Government, or bind it to recognise any ruler in Zululand independent of the supreme authority of Her Majesty's Government.

(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
High Commissioner.

No. 10.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR H. BULWER, K.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 16, 1879.)

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 10, 1879.

SIR,

THE High Commissioner having proceeded to the Transvaal, I have the honour to transmit, for your information, copies of the following communications relating to Zulu affairs, which have been addressed by me to his Excellency since his departure; namely,—

(1.) No. 25/1879, S.A., 3 April (5 enclosures).
(Regarding messages to the Zulu King).

(2.) No. 27/1879, S.A., 3 April (8 enclosures).
(Forwarding reports from the Zulu border).

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks Beach, Bart., M.P.,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1. in No. 10.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir H. B. E. FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 3, 1879.

SIR,

I ENCLOSE for your information copy of a report from Mr. Fannin, our border agent at the Kranskop, dated the 28th March, mentioning the arrival of three messengers with a message from the Zulu King.

2. Your Excellency will perceive from Mr. Fannin's report, and from the other enclosed correspondence, that the message was at once sent forward to his Excellency the Lieutenant-General; and you will also perceive from the Lieutenant-General's telegram the nature of the reply which his Excellency desired should be made to the messengers, namely, that all communications from the King to him should be addressed to him at his camp, where he is always ready to receive a flag of truce.

3. As since the 23rd January the Lieutenant-General's head-quarters have been in Natal until within the last few days, it was only natural, I think, that the King in sending in his message should have sent it in by way of Natal; and in any case I venture to suggest for your Excellency's consideration whether it may not be as well, in order to avoid possible difficulties and delays, that messages from the Zulu King should be received even should the messengers bringing them, from any cause whatever, fail to carry them direct to the Lieutenant-General's camp.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

His Excellency the Right Hon.
Sir H. Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
&c. &c. &c.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 28, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that three messengers have arrived with a message from Cetywayo. Their names are Johannes (one of the Entenneni natives), Nkisimana, and Umfunzi. On approaching the ferry they were fired on by the native contingent stationed there, but on showing a white flag Captain Cherry had them brought over, and sent them under guard to Fort Cherry, where he proposes they should remain until instructions respecting them are received. The message is very short; it is simply to say Cetywayo sees no reason for the war which is being waged against him, and he asks the Government to appoint a place at which a conference could be held with a view to the conclusion of peace.

On their way at Entenneni an additional message was entrusted to them by Dabulamanzi to this effect: A few days ago he sent a white flag with two messengers to Etshowe, to ask for a suspension of hostilities until the result of this mission was known, but the men have not returned. He asks that the men may be released.

Four other Entumeni men have arrived with these messengers, but I have not had time yet to ascertain their object in coming. I will do so to-morrow.

The message has been sent on to the Lower Tugela to his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding.

Now that active military operations are about to recommence, I would respectfully suggest that the Entumeni men should not be allowed to return to Zululand, whether they wish to do so or not. I will write further on the subject to-morrow.

(Signed) JOHN EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

The Tugela is unfordable.

TELEGRAM.

The LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR to LORD CHELMSFORD, Fort Pearson (to be forwarded).

March 30, 1879.

REPORT from border agent, Mr. Fannin, just received, dated 28th, states that three messengers have arrived from Cetywayo, asking that a place be appointed at which a conference could be held with view to peace.

The messengers are at Fort Cherry, pending instructions.

Sir H. BULWER to LORD CHELMSFORD.

(No. 24.)

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
March 31, 1879.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to enclose copy of a telegram despatched by me yesterday to your Lordship, together with copy of the report to which the telegram refers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

His Excellency
Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, K.C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

TELEGRAM.

COLONEL HOPTON, Fort Pearson, to F. S. HADEN, Private Secretary, Government House, Pietermaritzburg.

GENERAL desires the following to be sent to Governor:—

I shall be obliged if you could inform Cetywayo's messengers that agreeably to High Commissioner's instructions all communications from the King should be addressed to me at my camp, where I am always ready to receive a flag of truce. Am crossing Amatakula River, all going on well. No enemy seen beyond a scouting party four miles away. Monday morning, 8 a.m.

MINUTE.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 1, 1879.

WILL you acquaint Mr. Fannin, with reference to his report of the 28th March, that the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Troops desires the messengers from the Zulu King to be informed that, agreeably to instructions which the Lieutenant-General received from his Excellency the High Commissioner, all communications from the King should be addressed to the Lieutenant-General at his camp, where the Lieutenant-General is always ready to receive a flag of truce.

(Signed) H. BULWER.

Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

SIR H. BULWER to SIR H. B. FRERE, BART.

Government House, Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 2, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of reports received from the Zulu border..

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

His Excellency the Right Hon.
Sir H. Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.
&c. &c. &c.

MINUTE.

Sub-enclosure 1. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE OF UMSINGA DIVISION to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

(Confidential.)

March 19, 1879.

MAJOR BLACK of the 24th Regiment, with a few mounted men, visited Sandhlwana on the 15th. Found the dead Zulus had been removed, the guns gone, but the limbers and boxes and the horses dead in their harness in the deep rut in front of the camp. There were about 100 waggons there all right; the European dead bodies lying about apparently untouched by bird or beast.

About 50 Zulus came out of huts in front of the camp, and fired upon Major Black and party, but without effect; they returned to Rorke's Drift all right.

Firing heard during Saturday, Sunday, and Monday in the direction of Colonel Wood's column, but no news about it yet.

Firing said to have been heard towards Etshowe on Saturday.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 20, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report as follows, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor:—

Among the deserters from Major Bengough's battalion at Umsinga were two young men, sons of Notobela, who lives near Domba's Kraal at the Tugela. When the order was issued that the deserters should return to Umsinga, these young men disappeared, and a few days ago my police reported to me that they suspected both were in Zululand, at the kraal of Undukuzake, a brother of Domba, and yesterday they succeeded in ascertaining positively that such was the case. I have got Notobela here, and as soon as Mr. Wheelwright returns from Greytown, will hand the matter over to him to be dealt with. Two more deserters from Major Bengough's battalion arrived this morning asking for a pass to return to Umsinga.

A Zulu from the kraal of Domba's brother, in answer to a question, states on Monday the 10th instant an action was fought near Etshowe between part of the garrison and a Zulu force, when the former had to retire to the shelter of their entrenchments.

Yesterday evening the Tugela was as high, if not higher, than it has been this season.

From all parts of the border the police report very few Zulus visible. At one point near Dumdum the Zulu women came down to their gardens near the Tugela, armed with gun and shield, from which it is supposed the men are all away.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 3. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 21, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, as follows:—

Late last night two of the police brought me the intelligence that two Zulu messengers were on the banks of the Tugela. They called out to the natives on this side to inform Bishop Schreuder that they were bearers of a message to him from Cetywayo, but he must cross the river to receive it.

I have conveyed this information to the Bishop, and he agrees with me that his only course is to decline crossing.

I have sent my head police sergeant with one of the Bishop's men down to the river to give the messengers safe conduct to the Bishop's house and back; should they accept of this, I will be present on their arrival and hear what they have to say.

If I obtain any information of consequence I will send a special messenger to Greytown this evening to arrive there in time for to-morrow's post to Pietermaritzburg.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 4. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 22, 1879.

1. I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that the Zulu messengers referred to in my Minute of yesterday arrived at Bishop Schreuder's under escort of the police yesterday evening. I was present at the time, and witnessed their interview with the Bishop. The name of the principal messenger is Klaas alias Barnabas. He is a professor of Christianity, and formerly resided in Natal, but of late years has lived in Zululand among Matyana's people. He left Cetywayo's kraal some weeks ago, and it was intended he should have arrived at the same time as the messengers sent by Umvumengwana and Dabulamanzi, but through some misunderstanding he went to his kraal, expecting them to call for him on their way. After waiting some time he was further delayed by illness; these are his explanations of the delay. The other messenger is a young man, a dependant of the elder.

2. Cetywayo sends by the messengers the books containing the laws promulgated at the time of his coronation, and presented to him by Her Majesty the Queen. It will be remembered that this book was handed to the Zulu King by Bishop Schreuder at the request of the Natal Government some time after the coronation took place. The King now returns it, and asks him to cast his eye over its contents, and say in what way he has transgressed its provisions.

3. The Bishop replied by referring Cetywayo to his Excellency's message delivered at the Lower Tugela last December to the Indunas sent to receive it. He returned the book, placing in it a loose copy of the above message, and pointed out that the Indunas who received it would be able to thoroughly explain its contents if the King is really desirous of understanding them.

4. I made inquiry of the messengers as to the state of affairs in Zululand. They inform me that the great bulk of the Zulu army is at Ondine, the Royal kraal,

and that the King is availing himself of this opportunity to ascertain his losses at the various engagements in which his army has been concerned. The men were only beginning to assemble when the messengers left, but by this time all will be present. About ten days ago a summons was sent to the Isikulu or notables of the land, and they are all now gathered together at the King's. Umvumergwana is there, as is Dabulamanzi, and every member of the Royal family, except Uhama. It is whispered that the object of the assemblage is to discuss the best mode of prosecuting the war.

5. My informants visited the battle-field at Sandhlwana, soon after the engagement. They found the greater part of the Zulu dead had been buried or hidden away in Dongas and ant-bear holes. The waggons and guns were still there.

6. Before Uhama left, he assembled his people and asked them to accompany him, but the large majority refused to do so. It is not yet known in Zululand where he has taken up his abode.

7. The messengers return to Zululand to-day. My head police sergeant has been with them constantly, and will see them safely over the ferry. They have not been allowed to leave the Bishop's premises.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 5. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 24, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report as follows, for his Excellency's information :—

Major Twentyman has arrived at Fort Cherry, and is arranging to make demonstrations at various points along the Tugela for the purpose of drawing the attention of the Zulus away from the relieving column.

I have lately ascertained that two young natives who deserted from Major Bengough's battalion have crossed into Zululand, and are now at the kraal of Undukuzake, a brother of Undomba's ; their father's name is Undomba. He denied all knowledge of their whereabouts, although he lives just opposite. I have sent him to Mr. Wheelwright to be dealt with, and have recommended that he should be detained at Greytown for the present.

I have also represented to Mr. Wheelwright that Undomba and his sons should not be allowed to remain at their kraal, if not removed, I fear they will find means of communicating with their relatives in Zululand.

The Chief Hlanyabeza called here yesterday on his way home. He stated that he had ten days' leave from the acting Secretary for Native Affairs. I have written to Mr. Wheelwright to ascertain if such is the case, and would respectively suggest that just now, when active military operation are about to re-commence, all natives of doubtful loyalty are better away from the Border.

The Tugela rose again yesterday.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 6. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 25, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that Major Twentyman marched the whole of the force stationed at Fort Cherry, with the exception of one Company Native Contingent, to Middle Drift yesterday evening, to-day they are occupied in throwing up entrenchments at the Drift and Ferry. The large boat sent down by Colonel Durnford has been launched, and to-morrow it is proposed to float the raft. A company of pioneers have been told off to put the waggon road down to the river in repair, the late heavy rains having made it impassable for waggons.

Only seven Zulus can be seen at Middle Drift, but doubtless e'er this it is known far and wide in Zululand that a large force is threatening their border here.

Undomba has gone to Greytown, in obedience to a summons from Mr. Jackson.

The police report all quiet along the border.

The Tugela is still high, it will not be fordable for several days, even if no more rain falls.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 7. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 26, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that all is quiet along the border.

The Native Contingent under Captain Cherry are engaged in throwing up entrenchments at Middle Drift; the barrel raft is afloat on the river.

A few shots have been exchanged with the small party of Zulus who are watching on the opposite bank.

The river is still unfordable.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 8. in Enclosure 2. in No. 10.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 27, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that the Tugela is falling steadily, and can now be forded at the best drifts.

Captain Cherry's force is engaged throwing up entrenchments. Only one company of the Native Contingent has been left to garrison Fort Cherry, but it is to be strengthened, I believe, to-day or to-morrow. All the mounted natives who were stationed here have been ordered down to Lower Tugela.

The police report all quiet along the border. The demonstration does not seem to have had much visible effect yet on the Zulus, though doubtless it is being keenly watched by them.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

I beg to enclose a note just received from Captain Cherry.

Enclosure.

MY DEAR FANNIN,

A few shots fired yesterday across the Tugela from both sides. Two impis reported to have been seen opposite last night, variously estimated at from 200 and 300 to as many thousands. I have been looking now at the Zulu country through binoculars for two days, and have never seen more than seven men.

River falling fast.

As a demonstration so far we are hardly a success.

Yours sincerely,

Middle Drift, (Signed) CHAS. E. M. CHERRY.
7.30 a.m. 27/3/79.

Firing in a desultory manner is commencing.

No. 11.

The RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART., to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR HENRY BULWER, K.C.M.G.

(Telegraphic.)

From Sir M. HICKS BEACH to Sir H. BULWER.

May 19, 1879.

THE full command of any forces whether European or Native, which are called out for service, must of course be with the General, with whom the responsibility for the operations rests.

No. 12.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 21, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pretoria, Transvaal,
April 18, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 6th ultimo acknowledging the receipt of mine, of the 27th January,* and I need not assure Her Majesty's Government that the instructions contained in the third and following paragraphs shall be strictly obeyed.

It will not, however, I trust, be out of place if, at the risk of some repetition of what has been already placed before Her Majesty's Government, I submit my reasons for hoping that no time may be lost by Her Majesty's Government in issuing instructions regarding the future of Zululand.

It is from no feeling of a desire for vengeance, still less from any idea that the necessity for obtaining a military success is any excuse for prosecuting a war otherwise unjust, least of all is it from any desire, as has been erroneously stated, to advance "civilisation, commerce, and christianity" by the sword; but I would submit to Her Majesty's Government that there are other reasons for believing that the military power of the Zulus must be effectually broken up; that the Zulu King must cease to reign, as sovereign, with any pretension to independent power; that the Zulu people must be effectually subdued, and made to feel they are subjects of the British Crown, and hereafter governed as become British subjects.

I believe that this is in the interests of the Zulus no less than of their neighbours.

It is in the interest of the European population of Natal and the Transvaal, because they cannot possibly live in peace and quiet with the Zulus in their present state as neighbours.

The events of the last few months have rendered it unnecessary to prove by argument that the Zulus have been made into a great military power; that they can destroy an English regiment, with artillery to support it, or shut up or defeat a brigade six times as strong as the ordinary garrison of Natal, unless our troops are very carefully posted and very well handled.

The open declarations of their King, no less than the fundamental laws of their organisation, proclaim foreign conquest and bloodshed as a necessity of their existence.

They are practically surrounded by British territory. Except the Portuguese, there is now no foreign territory they can reach for purposes of bloodshed without passing through British territory.

It is, therefore, clear that they cannot continue in their present condition, with their present form of government and present military organization, without attacking British subjects, or, at best, unoffending neighbours, who believe themselves safe as British subjects or allies.

They make no prisoners, save, occasionally, young women and half-grown children. They show no quarter, and give no chance to the wounded or disabled, disembowelling them at once.

They are separated from Natal by a river easily fordable for the greater part of the year, and not to wide too talk across at any time.

The boundary between them and the Transvaal is even more easily passed.

All these, I submit, are incontrovertible facts, proved by the well-known events of the past few months.

I know that there are educated men to be found, of great ability, who claim to be lovers of liberty and of right, and of their own species, who have lived long near the Zulus, and who say there is no danger to be apprehended from them if we let them alone; that Cetywayo is a well-meaning Prince, quite within his own right in massacring his own subjects, and our soldiers, too, if they enter his territory; that all that is necessary to our own safety is to let the Zulu King alone, or if the English do not like that, to leave his neighbourhood.

Having lived now for many weeks within a couple of Zulu marches of the Zulu border, among sensible Englishmen, many of them men of great sagacity, coolness, and determination, and reasonably just and upright in all their dealings, who never went to sleep without having their arms within reach, and being prepared to take refuge with

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* Nos. { 21 of C. 2252 of 1879.
7 of C. 2260 of 1879.

wives and families at a minute's warning, within a fortified post; having learnt from "voortrekkers," and their children who had witnessed the massacres of Weenen and Blauwkrantz, and who could thus testify that the present peculiarities of Zulu warfare are no recent innovation; I may be allowed to doubt the possibility of making life within reach of a Zulu "impi" permanently tolerable to ordinary Englishmen and Dutchmen.

Nor does it seem to me that we can justly say to Colonists, either in Natal or the Transvaal, that if they do not like the situation they may go elsewhere.

The Zulu right to be where the Zulus now are, is, with the exception of a small and remote tract towards Delagoa Bay, simply one of recent conquest by devastation and massacre.

I have never heard the historical fact questioned, that the earlier Zulu "impis" into what is now Natal and Transvaal territory preceded by a very few years, if they preceded at all, the first appearance of Dutch and English adventurers in the same lands; and the Zulus certainly cannot claim, as the Dutch and English may, any right of occupation from having civilised or improved the land.

Hence it seems to me no more than natural justice that if either party is to make way for the other, the Zulus should yield, and not the English or Dutch.

But I submit that in the interests of the Zulus themselves we have no right to leave them to their fate.

The present system of Cetywayo is no real choice of the nation. It is simply a reign of terror such as has before now been imposed on some of the most civilised nations of the world. The people themselves are everything that could be desired as the unimproved material of a very fine race. They seem to have all the capacities for forming a really happy and civilised community, where law, order, and right shall prevail, instead of the present despotism of a ruthless savage.

I can imagine but three ways of their being so improved:—

1st. They might, living alongside a civilised community, gradually imbibe civilised ideas and habits.

But for this it is necessary that their civilised neighbours should be able to live in security, which, as I have already said, seems to me hopeless, unless the military organisation and power of Cetywayo be broken down.

2nd. There are the means of improvement which may follow conquest and the breaking down of Cetywayo's military system; and this seems to me the only reasonable mode of doing our duty by these people. In the cases of Abyssinia and Ashantee we were compelled by circumstances to retire after conquest, and wash our hands of all further responsibility for the future of those countries; but there is no such necessity in the case of Zululand—there is nothing to prevent our taking up and easily carrying the burden of the duty laid upon us to protect and civilise it.

There is yet a third plan, which I have seen advocated by high authority.

The Zulus are, it is truly said, a nation of fine national characteristics. They have qualities which might enable them to become the regenerators and the foremost in civilisation of all the nations in South Africa.

So far I can agree with those who hold the opinions I refer to, but not in their further belief that Cetywayo is the Attila of the Zulus, and that if we only let him alone he will develop into a Charlemagne or an Alfred.

How far this process might be rendered tolerable to the present civilised inhabitants of Natal and the Transvaal I will not stop to inquire. It is quite possible that Zulus overrunning their now civilised neighbours might in due time imbibe some of their civilisation, settle down, and become civilised themselves, absorbing through their captives and subjects the germs of a better system of national existence.

I may doubt the probability of such a result, but I will not contest its possibility, and will only say that I am quite sure the countrymen of the present settlers in Natal and the Transvaal will never leave the Colonists there to be made the subjects of any such experiment.

I can, as I started by saying, see no alternative compatible with our duty but effectually to subdue the Zulus and govern them, as other South African races subject to the British Crown are governed.

It seems to me that no terms can possibly be made with Cetywayo which can be compatible with such a result, save with the indispensable preliminary of his entire submission.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
High Commissioner.

No. 13.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR H. BULWER, K.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 22, 1879.)

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 16, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of a correspondence that has passed between me and his Excellency Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford on the subject of the employment of certain native levies in making raids across the border into the Zulu country.

2. At the commencement of the Zulu war there were placed at the Lieutenant-General's disposal a number of natives (over 8,000) for service in the Zulu country. Some of these were intended for fighting purposes, and were formed into what has been called the Natal Native Contingent. Others were furnished for pioneer, transport, and hospital corps services.

3. Over and beyond these men, who were furnished for service in the Zulu country, there were called out, when the war began, a number of native levies for service in the Colony, being levies mustered for the defence of the border under the Colonial district commanders. These levies were called out without any intention of their being employed in the military operations to be conducted within the Zulu country. They were called out simply and solely for the defence of the Colony, for service within the Colony, and were stationed at or near the border for the defence of the border. After the disaster of the 22nd January their number was increased, and more recently they have been still further augmented at the recommendation of the Lieutenant-General that the reserve portion of the native levies placed under each of the district commanders for the defence of the border should be brought up, if possible, to a strength of two thousand (2,000).

4. The Lieutenant-General had, indeed, at one time, expressed it as his opinion that every available fighting native in the Colony should be called out. Such a proposal as this involved very serious considerations, and the Government of the Colony considered that the adoption of such a course at that time would be in a high degree inexpedient and impolitic. The High Commissioner, before whom I put the views of the Government, expressed in a resolution of the Executive Council on the subject, pointed out, very justly as I thought, that in negativing the proposal we had made no alternative proposal. It therefore seemed to me that the proper course under the circumstances to take was to obtain from the Lieutenant-General some more definite statement of his views (1) as to the further number of native levies that he might consider should be called out for the defence of the border, and (2) as to the further number of natives whom as auxiliaries, he might require to accompany the military columns into the Zulu country. I therefore at once made an arrangement to meet the Lieutenant-General, who was then at Durban, with the view of ascertaining definitely his views or wishes on these two points.

5. The result of the interview I then had with his Excellency is shown in the accompanying memorandum and in the following extract from a minute addressed by me to the High Commissioner subsequent to the interview.

"This memorandum shows the total number of native levies which the Lieutenant-General considers it advisable should be placed on or near the border, under the district commanders, for the defence of the border. The main object of the Lieutenant-General is that the district commanders of the border districts should have, in addition to the men guarding the border, a reserve force of 2,000 men each, which would be for the defence of the border, and who could be employed in making a demonstration along any part of the line at any time the Lieutenant-General might think it desirable that such a demonstration should be made. Then for native auxiliaries to advance into the Zulu country with the military columns the Lieutenant-General said that he would desire to have, if possible, 200 mounted men on the lower line, and subsequently 500 mounted men on the upper line. His requirements for auxiliaries for service across the border being in this way for 700 men in addition to 86 men already furnished him, and in addition to the Native Contingent now under him."

6. The Lieutenant-General considered that the native levies for the defence of the border should be raised to a certain stated number, if possible, in each of the three border districts. He said that it might be necessary, when the time came for relieving Etshowe, to make a demonstration along the border with the view of creating a diversion in the Zulu country, and that these native levies might be used for that purpose, but that they would be used within the border. There was no proposal that they should cross the border for that purpose. Of course, in carrying out such an important object as effecting the relief of Etshowe, the advance of any native levies across the border for the occasion,

and with the view of creating such a diversion would be, under the circumstances, a most reasonable proposal; but in point of fact there was no suggestion made by the Lieutenant-General that they should cross on that occasion. They were to be employed in the defence of the Colony, and the only proposal of a departure from the immediate service for which they were employed was that they should, if required, be made of use in making a demonstration when the time came for the relief column to advance towards Etshowe. This was the understanding arrived at, and there was no understanding whatever, either that these native levies should be employed across the border at the time of the relief of Etshowe, or that they should be then, or at any time, employed in making raids into the Zulu country. They were levies called out solely for the defence of the Colony, and to serve in the Colony for its defence, being stationed near the border for that purpose.

7. It was, therefore, with the greatest surprise that I learned from Mr. Wheelwright, one of the three district commanders along the border, that he had been desired to send his levies across the border to make raids into the Zulu country. This was some days after the relief of Etshowe. I had received on the 7th April a copy of a military telegram sent to me for my information by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General. This telegram, which was written after the relief of Etshowe, showed that the General and the relieving column remained to raid in the neighbourhood, and that he had "ordered raids to be made across the border wherever feasible;" and on the following day I received the copy of a memorandum which had been brought in to Fort Tenedos from Etshowe, and which had been written at Etshowe after the relief of that place. This memorandum was written from Etshowe by Colonel Crealock, the Assistant Military Secretary, and addressed to the officer commanding at the Lower Tugela, and, among other things, it contained the following instruction:—"Send word up to the frontier to "raid across the river wherever the river permits," It was pointed out to me that that instruction might refer to our native levies and native population; but, as I had heard nothing from the Lieutenant-General on the subject, and had never authorised, directly or indirectly, the employment for such purposes of the native levies, who had been expressly called out for the defence of the Colony, I could not believe that that was the intention of the instruction, but I concluded that it probably referred, as far as the natives were concerned, to the Natal Native Contingent which had been placed under the military authorities for service in the Zulu country, and which had nothing whatsoever to do with the native levies called out by me for service in the Colony. I received, however, the same evening from Mr. Wheelwright, the Colonial Commander of District No. VII., the report in which he informed me that, at the desire of Major Twentyman, he had some days previously sent down a body of native levies for the purpose of making the demonstration referred to, but that he had felt himself unable to comply with the further request of Major Twentyman that these native levies should make raids into the Zulu country until he had received the instructions of the Government. Upon the receipt of Mr. Wheelwright's report, I approved of what he had done, and I addressed to the Lieutenant-General the letter of the 9th April which is here enclosed.

8. With this statement of facts I turn to the Despatch addressed by the Lieutenant-General to the Secretary of State for War dated the 11th April. He says there as follows:—"My orders regarding demonstrations were fully carried out, but the fulness of "the Tugela would have prevented any general raid being made, even if the Natal "natives had not been forbidden to cross the border by his Excellency the Lieutenant-"Governor of Natal." It is with great regret that I must call in question this statement made by the Lieutenant-General. This statement implies that if the Tugela River had allowed of a general raid being made into the Zulu country, for the purpose stated in the preceding paragraph of the Lieutenant-General's Despatch, namely, in order to make a diversion in favour of the column relieving Etshowe, the Natal natives would not have crossed the border because they had been forbidden by the Lieutenant-Governor.

9. Now Etshowe was relieved on the 3rd instant, and I knew nothing of any orders having been given by the Lieutenant-General for the Natal natives to make raids until the 8th instant, five days after the relief had been effected. I had not forbidden, therefore, the Natal natives to cross the border in accordance with the instructions of the Lieutenant-General that they should cross, and I knew nothing of these instructions until that day, and then the instructions I saw were instructions actually issued after the relief of Etshowe, as will be seen from the copy of the papers sent to me, which I enclose. Nor did I issue then, on the 8th, nor have I subsequently issued, any such prohibition as indicated by the Lieutenant-General. Of the three district commanders, to whom I presume the Lieutenant-General's instructions were sent, I have only heard from one, namely, Mr. Wheelwright, of District No. VII. that such instructions had been sent

to him. The Colonial commander himself considered that he was not at liberty to take the native levies across the border without instructions from me to do so, and I have simply, since then, approved of what he did under the circumstances, considering, as I do, that those instructions ought never to have been issued to the Colonial commander without reference to me. From the other two district commanders along the border I have heard nothing on the subject, and nothing has been said to them by me on the subject, and it is clear, therefore, I submit, that the inference which the paragraph above quoted of the Lieutenant-General's Despatch is likely to convey would not be justified.

10. I must also take exception to the next paragraph of the Despatch, in which the Lieutenant-General talks of my interference with his plan of operations, and says that, if his orders to the Colonial forces which have been placed under his command by me are to be referred to me before being complied with, the satisfactory management of the military operations carried on becomes an impossibility.

I have to observe, with regard to this, that I have placed under the command of the Lieutenant-General, for service in the Zulu country, the Natal Mounted Police, most of the Natal Mounted Volunteers, a number of natives who have been formed into what is called the Natal Native Contingent, and a number of natives for pioneer, transport, and hospital service, and that I have never interfered with them, nor have I expected that the Lieutenant-General's orders to them should be referred to me before being complied with; but with regard to the native levies, which have been called out for the defence of the Colony, and placed under the command of Colonial district commanders to protect the border and the Colony, I have never placed them in any way, directly or indirectly, under the command of the Lieutenant-General for service in the Zulu country, nor have I authorised, directly or indirectly, in any way, their being taken across the border, or their being employed in making raids into the Zulu country. These levies were called out expressly and solely for service in the Colony and for the defence of the Colony, and were placed under the Colonial district commanders for that purpose only. The Colonial district commanders were, of course, made subject so far as regarded the defence of their districts, and the movement and disposition of any forces under them in their districts, to the military command; but no authority has been given either to these Colonial district commanders, or to the Lieutenant-General, to employ the native levies, which were exclusively called out for the defence of the Colony, on any service in the Zulu country, and I submit that the Lieutenant-General in issuing any instructions for these native levies to cross the border to make raids into Zulu country, in issuing these instructions as he has done, without my authority, without my concurrence, and positively without any reference to me, has exceeded his powers and acted without a due regard for the authority of this Government.

11. I pass by the question of the expediency or policy of making raids into the Zulu country. In a letter addressed by me to the High Commissioner, a copy of which is forwarded in another Despatch, I have ventured to put before his Excellency for his consideration the question of the expediency of such a policy, and the risks involved in such a course, namely, the risk of retaliation, and the risk of irritating and alienating unnecessarily those of the Zulu people who might otherwise be disposed to come to friendly terms with us, and through whose friendly disposition towards us a satisfactory solution of the difficulties between us and the Zulu people might eventually be more easily arrived at. But I do not claim to have any authority in respect of this question, and I have done no more than venture to lay my suggestion before the High Commissioner, and to forward a copy of my letter to the Lieutenant-General.

12. With regard to the last three paragraphs of the Lieutenant-General's letter, which deal with the question more immediately at issue, namely, the employment of the native levies who had been called up for the defence of the border on service beyond the border and in making raids, I have already shown that the levies to which I refer were never in any way placed under the Lieutenant-General for employment across the border; and I have also shown that they were levies which have nothing whatsoever to do with the native contingent battalions to which the Lieutenant-General refers as having been hitherto associated with the British troops, and which were placed under his command for service across the border. The question, therefore, put by the Lieutenant-General, in the way that it is put, before the Secretary of State for War, by not distinguishing between the two descriptions of native forces, but, as is actually done in the last paragraph but one, by naming and associating the two together as if there were no distinction between them, fails I think to represent the real state of the case. What I have said in this Despatch will show, I think, clearly how the case does stand, and that, while I have not questioned the employment across the border of those auxiliaries which were placed under the Lieutenant-General's command for service across the border, I do

question the employment by the Lieutenant-General across the border of those native levies which do not form part of the Native Contingent battalions referred to, which were never placed at his disposal for service across the border, and which have been ordered out solely for service within the Colony. I question very seriously his employment of these levies in making raids, under the present circumstances, across the border; and I feel also bound to remonstrate strongly against his having done this without my authority or concurrence, and even without the slightest reference to me.

13. The observations contained in the last paragraph of what the Lieutenant-General has written to the Secretary of State for War are fully answered in the earlier part of this Despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks Beach, Bart., M.P.,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1.

Sir H. Bulwer to Lord Chelmsford.

My Lord, April 9, 1879.

I have received from Mr. Wheelwright, the colonial commander of No. VII. district, a report acquainting me that it had been intimated to him by your Lordship, through Major Twentyman, that you desired him to co-operate with Major Twentyman, at the time the relief column was crossing and proceeding to Etshoe, by making a demonstration along the Tugela, and also by making raids into Zululand.

2. The colonial commander accordingly assembled his reserve native force, and placed it along the Tugela, to assist in the demonstration; but he was obliged to inform Major Twentyman that he could not proceed over the border, nor send any force under his command into Zululand, unless in pursuit of raiders, without the sanction of this Government.

3. I have approved of what Mr. Wheelwright has done. I have approved of his having, in accordance with Major Twentyman's request, assisted in making a demonstration along the border; and I have approved of the answer that he has given to Major Twentyman's request that his forces should make raids into the Zulu country. I have to observe, with regard to this portion of Major Twentyman's request, that, whilst I fully agreed to your Lordship's proposal that the native levies assembled on the border for the defence of the border should assist, if necessary, in any demonstration that may be made, I have not authorised their being employed in making raids into the Zulu country.

4. The views of this Government are very strongly against the employment, under the present circumstances, of the native levies, or native population along the border, in making raids into the Zulu country, as being, in the opinion of the Government, calculated to invite retaliation, and also as being demoralising to the natives engaged in raiding.

5. I beg to transmit, for your information, copy of a Despatch which I have addressed to the High Commissioner on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure 2.

Lord Chelmsford to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, Durban, April 12, 1879.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, dated Maritzburg, 9th April 1879, enclosing copies of reports from Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Fannin, and of a letter which your Excellency addressed to the High Commissioner.

The action taken by your Excellency in refusing to allow the orders issued by me to the native forces under my command to be carried ont appeared to me to be fraught with such dangerous consequences that I considered it necessary to refer the question for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State for War.

I beg to enclose a copy of my letter, which I trust will fully explain the grounds of my appeal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-Governor.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CHELMSFORD to SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

SIR, Durban, Natal, April 11, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your consideration, the enclosed correspondence received this day from Sir Henry Bulwer.

When I had determined to move up to the relief of Etshowe, I sent secret instructions to the different commanders along the border, from the Lower Tugela up to Kambula Hill, requesting them to make strong demonstrations all along the line, and, if possible, to raid into Zululand in order to make a diversion in favour of the relieving column, which I thought might possibly have to meet the full strength of the Zulu army.

My orders regarding demonstrations were fully carried out, but the fullness of the Tugela would have prevented any general raid being made, even if the Natal natives had not been forbidden to cross the border by his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.

The interference of the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal with my plan of operations, however, opens up a very serious question, and I feel bound to point out that if my orders to the Colonial forces, which have been placed under my command by Sir Henry Bulwer himself, are to be referred to himself before being complied with, the satisfactory management of the military operations now being carried on becomes an impossibility.

Had a general raid into Zululand been effected by the large body of native troops now assembled along the border, I am confident that it would have produced very important results.

After what has already occurred since the war in Zululand commenced, I cannot understand the argument of the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal that we are not waging war against the Zulu nation.

At its first commencement, such an announcement was politic and proper, as it afforded an opportunity to those Chiefs who were averse to Cetywayo's rule to come over to our side.

Since then, however, our troops have had to contend with the whole strength of the Zulu nation, and it would be madness to refrain from inflicting as much damage as possible upon our enemy, because it was thought desirable, in the first instance, to declare that our quarrel was with Cetywayo alone.

The argument of the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, as contained in his letter to the High Commissioner, dated 9th April, that "if we make war against the whole Zulu "people, and if we so act as to cause every Zulu to believe that we are his enemies," we run a risk of driving every Zulu into a desperate defence of his country, "and "thereby incur the further risk of making the war a long and tedious one," is totally opposed to all the experience of former Kafir wars.

I am satisfied that the more the Zulu nation at large feels the strain brought upon them by the war, the more anxious will they be to see it brought to an end.

But, however that may be, the question now at issue is far more serious, and I would beg for the speedy decision of Her Majesty's Government, as to whether the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, having once placed the services of certain Colonial forces at my disposal, has the power to prevent the orders issued by me to their commanders being obeyed.

I need scarcely point out that if this power be vested in the Lieutenant-Governor, it will be impossible for me to accept the responsibility of the command of the Colonial forces now in the field for the defence of Natal, or to employ the Native Contingent battalions which have been hitherto associated with the British troops.

Sir Henry Bulwer, in the third and concluding paragraph of his letter to the High Commissioner, says:—"There may, of course, be military reasons opposed to these "considerations." His Excellency, however, has not referred to me on this point, and

the first intimation I received of the counter-order issued to the native forces along the Tugela border was in a Report from Major Twentyman, 2/4th Regiment, who commands (apparently nominally) all the forces along the Umvoti border.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-Governor.

True copy.
(Signed) N. CREALOCK, A.M.S.

Enclosure 3.

Sir H. BULWER to Lord CHELMSFORD.

MY LORD, April 15, 1879.

I HAVE received your letter of the 12th instant, acknowledging mine of the 9th.

2. Your Excellency says that the action taken by me in refusing to allow the orders issued by you to the native forces under your command to be carried out appears to you fraught with such dangerous consequences that you have considered it necessary to refer the question for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

3. In the first place I desire to say that I have taken no such action as you refer to beyond that I have signified to Mr. Wheelwright, the Colonial Commander of District No. 7, my approval of the answer made by him to Major Twentyman, to the effect that he could not take the native levies under his command across the border to make raids into the Zulu country without previous reference to this Government. That is the action that has been taken by me in this matter, and I do not consider that it bears out the terms in which you speak of it, either in your letter to me or in your Despatch to the Secretary of State for War.

4. I have to remind your Excellency that the native levies called out for the defence of the Colony have been placed on or near the border for the defence of the border. They were ordered out for that purpose, and for that purpose only, and not for the purpose of taking a part in any operations conducted in the Zulu country. Moreover, I must remind your Excellency that it was distinctly understood between us, when I had the honour of an interview with you at Pinetown, that the native levies in the border districts, which you considered should be increased in number, should be employed exclusively for the defence of the border. Your Excellency might require them, you said, when the time came for the relief of Etshowe, to make a demonstration along the border. But it was to be a demonstration within the border, and not across the border. They were to be employed in the Colony for the defence of the Colony, and not to be taken across the border. For service across the border your Excellency had the native contingent, and all that you would require more would be a certain number of mounted men to accompany the troops when they advanced again into the Zulu country, should they be needed.

5. The course taken by your Excellency in having within the last few days ordered the native levies who had been placed on the border for the defence of the border to cross into Zululand for the purpose of making raids is a course which I am bound to say is in my opinion at entire variance with the understanding then or previously arrived at with regard to these native levies, and I must point out, moreover, that you have taken this course not only without my authority for these natives crossing the border, but without any reference to me whatever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER
Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure 4.

1879.

Sir H. BULWER to Sir BARTLE FRERE.

MEMORANDUM.

March 10, 1879

HIS Excellency the Lieutenant-General considers that the district commandants of the border districts Nos. 1, 6, and 7, now having under their command, for the defence of the Border, certain native levies in position along the border should have their moveable reserve forces of such levies raised to 2,000 men, exclusive, if possible, of horsemen.

The 700 men now under Mr. Allison in District No. 1; the 500 men now under Mr. Wheelwright at Oliphant's Hoek in District No. 7; and the 500 men now stationed near Thring's Farm under Captain Lucas may be considered as part of the reserve forces referred to.

This would raise the total force of native levies under the District commanders to 3,300 in District No. 1; to 3,500 in District No. 6; and to 3,500 in District No. 7, exclusive of 500 mounted men.

The Lieutenant-General would also desire to have, if possible, for service in the Zulu country, 200 further mounted natives, to be attached to the mounted force under Major Barrow at the Lower Tugela, belonging to Column No. 1; and, subsequently, when the upper column is ready to move from Helpmakaar or the vicinity into the Zulu country, 500 mounted men on that line also.

The Lieutenant-General will inquire if any further numbers of natives are required for transport service, hospital corps service, or commissariat service, and will inform the Lieutenant-Governor.

(Signed) HENRY BULWER.

Enclosure 5.

TELEGRAM.

From DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Durban, to DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL Pietermaritzburg.

Pietermaritzburg, April 7, 1879.

PEARSON and Ekowe Garrison expected at Lower Tugela, 8th. General and column remain to raid as long as provisions last, before returning to Ginghlove. Has ordered raids to be made across border whenever feasible.

28 deaths in Ekowe. Inform Governor.

For information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

By order,

(Signed) H. SPALDING,

Major, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

Enclosure 6.

Lieutenant-Colonel HOPTON to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Fort Tenedos, April 5, 1879,

SIR, Saturday night.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, a copy of a memorandum which was brought in an hour ago by runner from the Lieutenant-General commanding from Etshowe.

I have enclosed a copy of the same to Captain Lucas and to Mr. Fynney, requesting the latter to send it along the border to all concerned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDW. HOPTON,

Lieutenant-Colonel.

The Colonial Secretary.

Enclosure 7.

COLONEL CREALOCK, Head Quarters, Ekowe, to OFFICER COMMANDING, Lower Tugela.

84 spans of 12 oxen, with rheims and neck straps, to be sent under native escort and charge of conductors to the Amatikulu River, lower road, on the 6th April, to meet Colonel Pearson's column there that day, who is using that number of our oxen. Have ready one day's provisions for 1,500 men, on wheels to send out in case Colonel Pearson wants them. He takes three days; his wagons, when emptied, are to be loaded up with one month's provisions for the force remaining in Zululand and be ready to be sent when Mr. Walton sends for it.

About 10 officers and 60 men will arrive sick. Arrange accordingly.

Send word up to the frontier to raid across the river whenever the river permits. Telegraph to Deputy Adjutant-General the same orders and tell Colonel Glynn to attack Sirayo, and do all he can in the neighbourhood.

Inform Deputy Adjutant-General and Lieut.Governor and Lady Frere.

General with 57th, 60th, and 91st, and mounted infantry and portions of Naval Brigade reached Ekowe; road bad. Last detachment only reached at 10.30 p.m. If we can raise enough food we shall raid as long as it lasts, previous to returning to Gingilovo. Send private letters for us to that place, but no officials, except pressing and important.

Fort Tenedos, 7 p.m., 4th April 1879.

(Signed) EDW. HOPTON,
Lieut.-Colonel.

No. 14.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 22, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pretoria,
April 16, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of Despatches I have received from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, forwarding reports received from the Zulu border, and on the disposition of the Amatongas.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Enclosure 1. in No. 14.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 5, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of reports received from the Zulu border.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE OF UMSINGA DIVISION to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 19, 1879.

MAJOR BLACK of the 24th regiment, with a few mounted men, visited Isandhlwana on the 15th, found the dead Zulus had been removed, the guns gone, but the limbers and boxes and the horses dead in their harness in the deep rut in front of the camp. There were about 100 waggons there all right; the European dead bodies lying about apparently untouched by bird or beast. About 50 Zulus came out of huts in front of the camp and fired upon Major Black and party, but without effect. They returned to Rorke's Drift all right.

Firing heard during Saturday, Sunday, and Monday in the direction of Colonel Wood's column, but no news about it yet. Firing said to have been heard towards Etshowe on Saturday.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT, Umvoti, to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 20, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report as follows, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

Among the deserters from Major Bengough's battalion at Umsinga were two young men, sons of Notobela, who lives near Domba's kraal at the Tugela. When the order

was issued that the deserters should return to Umsinga, these young men disappeared; and a few days ago my police reported to me that they suspected both were in Zululand, at the kraal of Umdukuzake, a brother of Domba, and yesterday they succeeded in ascertaining positively that such was the case. I have got Notobela here, and as soon as Mr. Wheelwright returns from Greytown, will hand the matter over to him to be dealt with. Two more deserters from Major Bengough's battalion arrived this morning, asking for a pass to return to Umsinga.

A Zulu from the kraal of Domba's brother, in answer to a question, states—on Monday, the 10th instant, an action was fought near Etshowe between part of the garrison and a Zulu force, when the former had to retire to the shelter of their entrenchments.

Yesterday evening the Tugela was as high, if not higher, than it has been this season.

From all parts of the border the police report very few Zulus visible. At one point near Dumdum the women came down to their gardens near the Tugela armed with gun and shield, from which it is supposed the men are all away.

(Signed) Jno. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Special Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary.

March 21, 1879.

I have the honour to report for his Excellency's information, as follows:—Late last night two of the police brought me the intelligence that two Zulu messengers were on the banks of the Tugela. They called out to the natives on this side to inform Bishop Schroeder that they were bearers of a message to him from Cetywayo, but he must cross the river to receive it.

I have conveyed this information to the Bishop, and he agrees with me that his only course is to decline crossing.

I have sent my head police sergeant with one of the Bishop's men down to the river to give the messengers safe conduct to the Bishop's house and back. Should they accept this, I will be present on their arrival and hear what they have to say.

If I obtain any information of consequence I will send a special messenger to Greytown this evening, to arrive there in time for to-morrow's post to Pietermaritzburg.

(Signed) Jno. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Special Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary.

March 22, 1879.

I have the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that the Zulu messengers referred to in my minute of yesterday arrived at Bishop Schroeder's under escort of the police yesterday evening. I was present at the time, and witnessed their interview with the Bishop. The name of the principal messenger is Klaas *alias* Barnabas; he is a professor of Christianity, and formerly resided in Natal, but of late years has lived in Zululand, among Matyana's people. He left Cetywayo's kraal some weeks ago, and it was intended he should have arrived at the same time as the messengers sent by Umvumengwana and Dabulamanzi, but through some misunderstanding he went to his kraal, expecting them to call for him on his way. After waiting some time, he was further delayed by illness. These are his explanations of the delay. The other messenger is a young man, a dependent of the elder.

2. Cetywayo sends by the messengers the book containing the laws promulgated at the time of his coronation, and presented to him by Her Majesty the Queen. It will be remembered that this book was handed to the Zulu King by Bishop Schroeder, at the request of the Natal Government, some time after the coronation took place. The King now returns it, and asks him to cast his eye over its contents, and say in what way he has transgressed its provisions.

The Bishop replied by referring Cetywayo to his Excellency's message, delivered at the Lower Tugela last December to the indunas sent to receive it. He returned the book, placing it in a loose copy of the above message, and pointed out that the indunas who received it would be able to thoroughly explain its contents, if the King is really desirous of understanding them.

4. I made inquiry of the messengers as to the state of affairs in Zululand. They inform me that the great bulk of the Zulu army is at Ondine, the Royal kraal, and that

the King is availing himself of this opportunity to ascertain his losses at the various engagements in which his army has been concerned. The men were only beginning to assemble when the messengers left, but by this time all will be present. About 10 days ago a summons was sent to the "Tzikulu," or notables of the land, and they are all now gathered together at the King's. Umvumengwana is there, as is Dabulamanzi, and every member of the Royal family except Oham. It is whispered that the object of the assemblage is to discuss the best mode of prosecuting the war.

5. My informants visited the battlefield at Isandhlwana soon after the engagement. They found the greater part of the Zulu dead had been buried or hidden away in "dongas" and ant-bear holes. The waggons and guns were still there.

6. Before Oham left he assembled his people and asked them to accompany him, but the large majority refused to do so. It is not yet known in Zululand where he has taken up his abode.

7. The messengers return to Zululand to-day. My head police sergeant has been with them constantly, and will see them safely over the ferry. They have not been allowed to leave the Bishop's premises.

(Signed) J. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Special Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary.

March 25, 1879.

I have the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that Major Twentyman marched the whole of the force stationed at Fort Cherry, with the exception of one company, Native Contingent, to Middle Drift yesterday evening. To-day they are occupied in throwing up entrenchments at the drift and ferry. The large boat sent down by Colonel Durnford has been launched, and to-morrow it is proposed to float the raft. A company of pioneers have been told off to put the waggon road down to the river in repair, the late heavy rains having made it impassable for waggons. Only seven Zulus can be seen at Middle Drift, but doubtless ere this it is known far and wide in Zululand that a large force is threatening their border here.

Umdomba has gone to Greytown in obedience to a summons from Mr. Jackson.

The police report all quiet along the border.

The Tugela is still high; it will not be fordable for several days, even if no more rain falls.

(Signed) Jno. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Special Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary.

March 26, 1879.

I have the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that all is quiet along the border. The Native Contingent under Capt. Cherry are engaged in throwing up entrenchments at Middle Drift. The barrel raft is afloat on the river. A few shots have been exchanged with the small party of Zulus who are watching on the opposite bank.

The river is still unfordable.

(Signed) Jno. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Special Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary.

March 27, 1879.

I have the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that the Tugela is falling steadily, and can now be forded at the best drifts.

Captain Cherry's force is engaged throwing up entrenchments; only one company of the Native Contingent has been left to garrison Fort Cherry, but it is to be strengthened, I believe, to-day or to-morrow.

All the mounted natives who were stationed here have been ordered down to Lower Tugela.

The police report all quiet along the border. The demonstration does not seem to have had much visible effect yet on the Zulus. though doubtless it is being keenly watched by them.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

I beg to enclose a note just received from Captain Cherry.

Captain CHERRY to Mr. J. E. FANNIN.

MY DEAR FANNIN,

A FEW shots fired yesterday across the Tugela from both sides. Two impis reported to have been seen opposite last night, variously estimated at from 200 to 300 to as many thousands. I have been looking now at the Zulu country through binoculars for two days, and have never seen more than seven men. River falling fast. As a demonstration, so far we are hardly a success.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) C. M. CHERRY.

Firing in a desultory manner is commencing.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 6, 1879.

SIR,

WITH reference to a Memorandum by your Excellency, written some time since, respecting the disposition of the Amatonga towards the Zulus, I have the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter from Mr. J. R. Dunn, with whom the Secretary for Native Affairs communicated on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Mr. J. R. DUNN to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Lower Tugela, March 20, 1879.

SIR,

I BEG to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, desiring me, at his Excellency's request, to give any information I may have in reference to the feeling of the Amatonga, either towards the British Government or the Zulus.

I beg to state that up to the time of my leaving the Zulu country the feeling towards the Zulus was anything but friendly, and I do not believe that anything but the fear of the Zulus gaining an advantage over the British Government would make them join the Zulus.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. R. DUNN.

The Hon. the Secretary for Native Affairs,
Pietermaritzburg.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 10, 1879.

SIR,

IN continuation of my Despatch, No. 13, 1879, S.A., of the 13th February last, I have the honour to forward herewith official copies of the various reports received by this Government from the 1st January to the 28th February 1879, and of other papers connected with the Zulu war.

These reports and papers were all laid before your Excellency at the time they were received or dealt with.

Schedules are enclosed showing the dates of the several papers and the purport of their contents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 15.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR H. BULWER, K.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 22, 1879.)

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 17, 1879.

IN continuation of my Despatch of the 15th instant,* I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, copies of further Despatches (with enclosures) addressed by me to his Excellency the High Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

The Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1. in No. 15.

Sir HENRY BULWER to Sir BARTLE FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 10, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of a border report received from the Ipolela division.

I have &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

ADMINISTRATOR OF NATIVE LAW, Ipolela, to HON. THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, Natal.

March 29, 1879.

STRACHAN'S Mounted Police Force is stationed on the south side of Indawana, at the passes in the Berg there. I have spies out on the Berg, but none have come in yet. One man who has been to the border states that he was informed that Morosi is supposed to be at his old stronghold at the Orange River.

(Signed) G. B. HOLMAN,
Administrator of Native Law.

Enclosure 2. in No. 15.

Sir HENRY BULWER to Sir BARTLE FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 15, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of the following reports from our southern border :—

(1.) Resident Magistrate, Harding, 2nd April.
(2.) Administrator of Native Law, Ipolela, 5th April.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure 1. in Enclosure 2 in No. 15.

MINUTE.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE OF ALFRED to HON. SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Border Report.

April 2, 1879.

SOME of the Basuto tribes in Griqualand East were doubtful whether Letsea was in earnest in turning out on the Government side, and held back refusing to furnish con-

* No. c

tingents against Moirosi. Mr. Brownlee has treated these men with a firm and judicious hand, and now more are anxious to turn out than are required.

It appears that in one engagement where Moirosi's three sons were killed, that a Basuto Chief, a brother of Moshesh's was killed on the Government side. This has led to Letsea's men becoming very keen in hunting out Moirosi's tribe, and seizing their cattle in all directions.

Moirosi with a part of the tribe is surrounded on his mountain by the Cape forces; the rest are dispersing as they best can. The yeomanry under Captain Wood, of Grahamstown, captured on 29th ultimo, 700 head of cattle, 3,000 sheep, and 150 horses, and had heard of thousands more that were going after. I think this will be the end of the Moirosi war, and that no disturbances elsewhere on our southern border need be feared.

(Signed) J. GILES,
Resident Magistrate.

It is rumoured that Moirosi has sent in, through one of Letsea's men, to ask for mercy.

J. G.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 2. in No. 15.

ADMINISTRATOR OF NATIVE LAW, Ipolela, to HON. THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, Natal.

Ipolela, April 5, 1879.

I RETURNED yesterday from the Berg, and got no news whatever relative to Morosi. Strachan's party have gone over Berg to Ludiya's, on the Orange River. My spies have been out now eight days, and none back yet. I put down their not getting back to the exceedingly heavy rains we have had, and the heavy fall of snow on the Berg last night.

(Signed) GEO. B. HOLMAN,
Administrator of Native Law.

REPORT of ACTING SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS on Report of ADMINISTRATOR OF NATIVE LAW, Ipolela Division.

Office of Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal,
April 10, 1879.

THE Administrator of Native Law of the Ipolela reports that he hears nothing of the movements of Morosi, and that the spies sent out by him (the Administrator of Native Law) to obtain information had not yet returned, owing, he thinks, to rain and heavy fall of snow.

Morosi will not, I think, attempt to enter Natal. He knows that it is an English Colony, and that he will be less safe here than in the Double Mountains.

(Signed) J. W. SHEPSTONE,
Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

No. 16.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR H. BULWER, K.C.M.G., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 22, 1879.)

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 18, 1879.

SIR,

IN continuation of my Despatch of the 17th instant,* I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of further Despatches (with enclosures) addressed by me to his Excellency the High Commissioner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

The Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

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* No.

Enclosure 1. in No. 16.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Sir Bartle Frere.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 10, 1879.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose for your Excellency's information copies of the following reports received from our border magistrates or agents, viz. :—

(1.) Report of Resident Magistrate, Umsinga, 28th March 1879.
(2.) Report of Border Agent, Umvoti, 31st March 1879.
(3.) Report of Border Agent, Lower Tugela, 31st March 1879.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-Enclosure 1. in Enclosure 1. in No. 16.

Minute.

Resident Magistrate of Umsinga Division to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

March 28, 1879.

On the 26th Major Bengough, with the greater portion of his contingent, moved down to the Buffalo River to make a demonstration. Some of the native levy under J. S. Allison went also.

Yesterday morning numbers of small fires were seen near the Malakata peak, as if there were a body of Zulus there. In the afternoon about 30 Zulus were seen harvesting green mealies which evidently belonged to others.

The Buffalo and Tugela rivers have been full for some days past, and last evening there was a very heavy storm which will flood the Buffalo River, and most probably the Tugela River also.

The border quiet.

It is rumoured by Zulus that the Zulu army has been dispersed for a short time. This is not likely to be true.

(Signed) Henry F. Fynn,
Resident Magistrate.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 1. in No. 16.

Minute.

Special Border Agent of Umvoti to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

March 31, 1879.

I have the honour to report for his Excellency's information that all is quiet along the border.

The Zulus seem to take very little notice of the military demonstration. The bulk of their cattle have been driven away. A few scouts are to be seen, and occasional shots are exchanged with them.

The Tugela has risen several feet, and will probably remain unfordable for some time.

(Signed) Jno. Eustace Fannin,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 3. in Enclosure 1. in No. 16.

Minute.

Administrator and Border Agent, Lower Tugela, to the Hon. the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

March 31, 1879.

I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that affairs in this district continue quiet.

The natives have been orderly, and have shown a good spirit in coming up willingly

when called upon so to do for the defence of the border, and cheerfully undertaking the duties required of them.

2. The only thing which has arisen since the commencement of hostilities to mar the uniform commendation which I have felt has been due to the Chiefs and headmen in this district, together with the people under them, has been the doubt cast upon the loyalty of the Chief Umkonto, from which I entertain every hope he will be able fully to clear himself. It was reported to me last week that the article said to be a shawl, which was to have been given to the man Umlanyini, was not a shawl but a roll of turkey red for the use of Cetywayo's soldiers as badges, to enable them to pass as Native Contingent. I lost no time in thoroughly investigating the matter, and found the report to be utterly false. I have used every effort to find out all I could respecting the feelings of Umkonto's people, and for that purpose have had trustworthy men going about secretly amongst them, but up to the present have failed to hear anything which would justify me in accusing them of disloyalty to the Government.

3. Week before last it came to my knowledge that a report was in circulation of Zulus having crossed near the mouth of the Tugela, and that watch fires had been seen at night on one of the ridges on the south side of the river. I set some of my most trustworthy men to work with the following results. The footprints traced to the river on the north side were those of cattle herds from Fort Tenedos, and the "watch" or "signal fires," were fires lighted by the natives residing near the sea to frighten away wild pigs from their mealie fields, and I have no hesitation in saying the report was groundless.

4. On Thursday last Captain Lucas (Commandant No. VI. district) called up the reserve natives, so that most of the men in this district are now on the border, and there is a strong force there at the different posts. Many of the natives are armed with guns, and all appear to be in excellent spirits, and quite ready to test their strength against the Zulus should they venture to cross into this district.

5. The Zulus do not show themselves near the river as they formerly did, not caring to draw the fire of the border guard. Small parties are seen from time to time at distances of over a mile, but immediately disappear on the sign of any movement on this side.

6. The Tugela continues full, and as the season is a late one, may reasonably be expected to keep up till the end of April. There was a further rise last evening.

7. The "relief column" started early on Saturday for the Tyowe (advanced guard having gone the night before) and reached the Matikulu River yesterday evening. Up to that time all was well; no signs of the enemy. The roads were very heavy on account of the recent rains.

8. Yesterday (Sunday) two large bodies of Zulus were seen by my men on the look out, to pass over the northern end of the Indulinde Range, near Rathbone's old road, going in the direction of the Matikulu Valley, no doubt to join the main body already said to be there, waiting to oppose the advance of relief column. I sent the information on to the General (Lord Chelmsford) without delay.

9. Information from Zululand is so conflicting as to be utterly unreliable. One day I am informed that the King is tired of fighting, and wishes to know why his friends the English are fighting against him, "What has he done?" &c., and the next that he is sending a large force to oppose the relief of the Tyowe. I have no faith in Cetywayo's overtures for peace, and believe the General will have hard fighting before reaching the Tyowe.

(Signed) F. Bernard Fynney,
Administrator and Border Agent.

Enclosure 2. in No. 16.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Sir Bartle Frere.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 14, 1879.

Sir

With reference to my Despatch No. 25, 1879, S.A., I have the honour to forward, for your Excellency's information, copy of further correspondence on the subject of the Entumeni natives, and of the messengers who recently arrived at the Kranskop with a message from the Zulu King.

I have,
(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure 1. in Enclosure 2. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

March 29, 1879.

I HAVE had an interview with the Entumeni natives, and have informed them that they will not be allowed to return to Zululand at present. I would respectfully suggest that Cetywayo's messengers be detained until the relief of Etshowe is effected. They are now in charge of my police. The messengers report that seven regiments of the Zulu army are in the neighbourhood of Etshowe. The guns captured at Isandula have been removed to the King's kraal.

They state Uhamu left because he disapproved of the war. He always foretold it would end in the ruin of the Zulu nation.

The Tulega is unfordable.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 2. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I UNDERSTOOD that the Zulu messengers who brought the King's message were in charge of the military authorities. The answer of Lord Chelmsford has been sent. The conduct of our relations with the Zulu King is at present in the hands of the Lieutenant-General commanding the troops.

(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
2/4/79. Lieutenant-Governor.

Sub-enclosure 3. in Enclosure 2. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT, Umvoti, to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

THE Lieutenant-General has directed the detention of the messengers until his return from Etshowe. I have informed the men that all communications from the Zulu King will have to be sent to the General during continuance of war.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
5/4/79. Special Border Agent.

Enclosure 3. in No. 16.

Sir HENRY BULWER to Sir BARTLE FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
SIR, April 14, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Excellency's information, copies of the following reports received from our Border Agents, namely:—

(1.) Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 1st April 1879.
(2.) Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 2nd April 1879.
(3.) Resident Magistrate, Umsinga, to Colonial Secretary, 7th April 1879.
(4.) Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 7th April 1879.
(5.) Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 8th April 1879.
(6.) Border Agent, Umvoti, to Colonial Secretary, 9th April 1879.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure 1. in Enclosure 3. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 1, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report as follows for his Excellency's information:—

Nine deserters from Major Bengough's Battalion Native Contingent were furnished by me with a pass yesterday to return to Umsinga. I believe all living along the immediate border where the police are stationed have now returned to their duty.

I have had a private conversation with the recently arrived Eutumeni men at Bishop Schrœder's. They say it is the general opinion in Zululand that when Cetywayo heard of the strength of the relief column, he would oppose its advance with his whole army. They think as the regiments were all under arms, there would be time for them to arrive on the scene before our column reached Etshowe. When I heard this, I at once sent off a warning note by mounted express to the officer in command at Lower Tugela. They state the Zulus generally are very much concerned at the departure of Uhamu. Umvumengwana and Dabulamànzi are opposed to the prosecution of the war, and advise submission, but Cetywayo says he cannot see yet that the English are stronger than himself, and until this is made manifest he will not submit. Mr. Robertson's station at Kwamagwaza has been utterly destroyed, the houses burnt, and the church walls undermined and broken down. The Zulus feared it might be made a fortress of, like Etshowe. They are angry with Mr. Robertson for taking an active part in the war by accompanying the invading column. No harm has been done to the other mission stations. Mr. John Dunn's houses have all been destroyed.

All is quiet along the border here. A few Zulus can be seen watching. The Tugela is very high.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 3. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 2, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that about 8.30 a.m. this morning Bishop Schrœder distinctly saw through his large telescope a body of several thousand Zulus on a hill close by his mission station at Entumeni. They were moving in this direction, but he could only follow their movement for a short distance, when they disappeared behind a hill. One man certainly was mounted; a second he was not quite sure about. Probably the mounted man was Dabulamanzi; he lives close by Entumeni, and always rides when he accompanies the army. When I heard of this I rode over to the Bishop's, and, the atmosphere being very clear, made a careful survey of the Zulu country. The body of men did not re-appear, but large herds of cattle could be plainly seen.

The natives living about here say a few cannon shots were heard this morning in (the) direction of Etshowe.

Some small bodies of Zulus were seen by the police yesterday.

I have received a minute from his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding, directing that the Zulu messengers be detained till return of relieving column from Etshowe.

The Tugela is very high.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 3. in Enclosure 3 in No. 16.

MINUTE.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE OF UMSINGA DIVISION to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 7, 1879.

THE Frontier Border Police report that during Saturday and yesterday Zulu scouts were seen at several of the fords of the Buffalo River, who said the Zulu army had been twice repulsed by Colonel Wood's column, and also by the forces near Etshowe, with great loss, but that the Zulus are many, and that they have heard the English forces are to cross at all the fords; therefore they are watching.

Numbers of fires are seen in the Mangeni Valley, as if there were Zulu forces there.

Mr. Beachcroft, with Teteleku's men, arrived here this morning.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN.
Resident Magistrate.

Sub-enclosure 4. in Enclosure 3. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 7, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report for his Excellency's information that all is quiet along the border.

This morning a Despatch was brought in by the police from Lower Tugela, conveying the General's instructions to make raids into Zululand, as soon as the state of the river permitted. It is now falling, and will probably be fordable about Wednesday or Thursday next.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

I am informed the Mounted Volunteers have arrived at Pot Spruit, from Thring's Post.

Sub-enclosure 5. in Enclosure 3. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 8, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report for his Excellency's information that all is quiet along the border.

The Tugela is unfordable.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 6. in Enclosure 3. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 9, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report as follows, for his Excellency's information:—

From near the junction of the Buffalo and Tugela, the police report great lamentations heard at Zulu kraals under the Qudeni Forest, it is supposed for the killed at attack on Colonel Wood's camp. Nearly the whole of the male population of this part of Zululand was summoned by the King when he collected his forces together for his recent operations. The cattle are still to be seen, but very little care seems to be taken of them, as they wander about the hills day and night without herds. It is quite different in the

district opposite here, where all the cattle, or nearly so, have disappeared. They have probably been driven away to the Umhlatuzi Valley.

Yesterday two Zulu scouts fired at our natives about two miles above Middle Drift, and last night two officers of the Native Contingent, while fishing by moonlight, were fired on. No signs of a large force have been seen.

The Tugela is falling, but is still unfordable.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Enclosure 4. in No. 16.

Sir HENRY BULWER to Sir BARTLE FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 16, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward copy of a report received from the Resident Magistrate of the Umsinga Division regarding the asembling again of the Zulu forces, and the reasons given by the King to the Zulus for the necessity of their fighting to the last man.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frére, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure in Enclosure 4. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE OF UMSINGA DIVISION to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 11, 1879.

ONE of the Frontier Border Police reports the following news from a native woman who had been captured in January by the Zulus. She is waiting an opportunity to escape back with her children into Natal.

Messengers had arrived yesterday from Cetywayo, ordering an immediate assembly of all the Zulu forces to attack the English forces below near Hlokweni, that the Zulus must fight to the last man.

Yamdana and his brother Kukulela, who had come into Natal, had been castrated and sent to an Island, and all captured Zulus would be treated in this way, and no Zulus under English rule would be allowed to have more than one wife.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN.

Enclosure 5. in No. 16.

Sir HENRY BULWER to Sir BARTLE FRERE.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 16, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward for your Excellency's information, copies of three reports received from our Border Agent stationed at Kranskop.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY BULWER,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure 1. in Enclosure 5. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that all is quiet along the border.

Yesterday one of the police who is stationed some miles above Middle Drift reported to me that he had held a conversation across the Tugela with a Zulu who was engaged in washing a wound in his leg. He stated it was received at the attack on Colonel Wood's camp where the Zulu army suffered severely. He enumerated 10 of his immediate neighbours who were killed or wounded. Among the latter is Mabehla, head of the kraal lately burnt by the Native Contingent near the ferry. The Umcityu Regiment suffered the greatest loss.

The cattle are still at the Zulu kraals about seven miles above Middle Drift, and it is proposed to make a raid on them when the river becomes fordable, which will probably be in a few days if the present dry weather continues.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 5. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 11, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that all is quiet along the border.

The Native Contingent, which was lately stationed at Middle Drift, has returned to Fort Cherry.

The Tugela is now fordable at the best drifts, and it is intended to make a raid shortly into Zululand. It is expected very little resistance will be made, as only a few Zulus are to be seen,

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 3. in Enclosure 5. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

SPECIAL BORDER AGENT OF UMVOTI to the HON. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY

April 13, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for his Excellency's information, that yesterday I accompanied Major Twentyman and Captain Cherry to different points on the Tugela, furnishing them with information as to fords, roads, paths, the nature of the Zulu country opposite, population of the same, &c. We found the river fordable, but not sufficiently so for a large force to cross readily, and it has been decided to put off the raid for some days.

At the part of the border where we were the Zulus are occupying their kraals, and the cattle have not been sent away. Part of the men are absent at the King's kraal or with the army. Several mounted men have lately been brought back from Kambula. They were accompanied by comrades who have now returned to their places in the regimental ranks.

Since the return of the Native contingent from the ferry the Zulus, seven in number, have made their appearance there, and taunt our Natives with the disappearance of their protecting force. They threaten to make raids as soon as the state of the river permits.

From other parts of the border the police report all quiet.

(Signed) JNO. EUSTACE FANNIN,
Special Border Agent

Enclosure 6. in No. 16.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Sir Bartle Frere.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
April 17, 1879.

Sir,

I forward for your information copy of a report by the border agent on the Lower Tulega, showing the condition of the neighbourhood a few days after the repulse of the attack made by the Zulus on the camp of the relieving column at Ginginhlovo on the 2nd instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure 1. in Enclosure 6. in No. 16.

Minute.

Administrator and Border Agent, Lower Tugela, to the Hon. the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

April 8, 1879.

I have the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that during the last week all has been quiet along the border.

2. Since the repulse of the Zulus at Ginginhlovo I have not received reports of any having been seen near the Tugela, and the line of country immediately along the border has every appearance of being deserted by the Zulus. A few cattle were seen on Friday last on one of the distant ranges, and as they were being driven in a westerly direction it is currently believed that the Zulus from the Indulindo and other parts south and west of the Tyowe are congregating with their families and cattle in the Indeni and Inhandhla bushes.

3. The fight at Ginginhlovo, and defeat of the Zulu army, appears to have had a good effect, and made a deep impression on our natives.

4. The river is still unfordable, but as the dry season is now setting in, I do not think it will remain so much longer.

5. The greater part of the able-bodied natives in this district are still guarding the border, and appear to be doing so very cheerfully.

6. The mealie crop is ripening fast, and some of the natives are gathering already.

(Signed) F. Bernard Fynney,
Administrator and Border Agent.

Sub-enclosure 2. in Enclosure 6. in No. 16.

Report of Acting Secretary for Native Affairs on Report of the Border Agent, Lower Tugela.

Office of Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal,
April 15, 1879.

The border agent's report satisfactory. No Zulus to be seen, and the border quiet. Our natives doing their duty as border guard cheerfully; and the mealie crops ripening, which will now enable [us] to live without having to purchase mealies at a ruinous price.

(Signed) J. W. Shepstone,
Acting Secretary for Native Affairs.

Enclosure 7. in No. 16.

Sir Henry Bulwer to Sir Bartle Frere.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal.
April 17, 1879.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, copy of a report received from our Resident Magistrate in the Umsinga, from which it would appear that a Zulu force on its way to the King's kraals had stayed their march on account of a raid recently made into the Zulu country (most probably that made by a force under Colonel Glynn), and were awaiting orders from the King to enable them to cross over into Natal and burn huts in retaliation for the damage done by the raiders from the Natal side.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Henry Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

Governor Sir Bartle Frere, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

Sub-enclosure in Enclosure 7. in No. 16.

MINUTE.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE of UMSINGA DIVISION to the Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

April 13, 1879.

MGWAZI, Frontier Border Police, states, yesterday evening late a Natal Native woman, who had gone across the Buffalo River to see her sons, returned and reported that a Zulu force of Sirayo's and Bovana's was between the Mangeni Valley and the Malakata Mountain, and that this force was on its way to the Royal kraals when they observed the Zulu kraals on fire, and so returned, and were to move down to-day to near the Buffalo River, opposite the Sibindi mouth, and are waiting orders from Cetywayo as to crossing to the Natal side to burn kraals in retaliation.

Mgwazi further states he saw smoke rising at all the kraals opposite, in proof of a Zulu force being there.

(Signed) HENRY F. FYNN,
Resident Magistrate.

No. 17.

GOVERNOR THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. B. E. FRERE, BART., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., to the RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART. (Received May 22, 1879.)

High Commissioner's Office, Pretoria, Transvaal,
April 18, 1879.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward Enclosures, as per Schedule, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

2. I have reported in a separate Despatch regarding the state of affairs in Transvaal, and you will ere this have received, through more direct channels, the detailed accounts of the successful actions fought by No. 4 Column (Brigadier-General Wood) at Kambula Hill on the 29th ult., and by the force marching to the relief of Ekowe at Ginghilovo on the 2nd inst.

3. I forward a copy of a Despatch from his Excellency the Lieutenant-General Commanding to the Secretary of State for War, describing the arrangements for the march of the relief column, which have terminated so successfully, and also casualty returns of the troops serving in the field reported up to the 5th inst.

4. Among the Enclosures will be found a report from Captain Clarke, R.A., Special Commissioner, Leydenburg, of the 3rd ult., by which it will be seen that a raid, instigated if not organised by the Rebel Chief Sikukuni has ended most disastrously for him.

5. My news from Basuto Land has been somewhat meagre, but all accounts tend to strengthen and confirm the hope that the action of Morosi, the Chief, now in arms against Government, is viewed with disapprobation by all the important and influential Basuto Chiefs, some of whom have furnished contingents to assist in compelling the Chief Morosi to submit to Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
Governor and High Commissioner.

The Secretary of State,
&c. &c.
Colonial Office.

Enclosure 1. in No. 17.

SCHEDULE.

No.	Date.	From.	To.	Subject.	Remarks.
	1879.				
1	March 25	Lieut.-General Commanding, South Africa.	Secretary of State for War	Thanks for reinforcements and steps about to be taken to relieve the garrison at Ekowe.	
2	„ 30	Capt. Woodgate, Staff Officer.	Officer Commanding Bults Spruit.	Attack of Zulu army on Kambula Camp, and result of the engagement.	
3	„ 15	J. J. Robson, J.P., Border Agent.	Major Dartnall, Lieut.-Commandant.	Cetywayo's messages.	
4	„ 3	Capt. Clarke, H.E. Commissioner.	Secretary to Government, Transvaal.	Two commandos of Sikukuni's men attacked Swazis kraals and defeat of Bazutos.	
	March 1 to April 5	Army Medical Department.	Adjutant-General's Department.	Returns of casualties among the troops serving in the field.	

From the Lieutenant-General Commanding in South Africa, to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for War.

Head-Quarter Camp, Lower Tugela,
March 25, 1879.

Sir,

Thanks to the prompt dispatch of reinforcements from England, I shall be in three days' time able to advance with the strong column, strength as per margin, to relieve the garrison of Ekowe, which has now been holding that post for upwards of 10 weeks.

As none of the major-generals ordered out have yet arrived, and Colonel Pearson, who at first commanded the column on this line, is shut up in Ekowe, and as there is no other senior officer available for the duty, I have decided to take command of the relieving column myself, assisted by Colonel Pemberton, 60th Rifles, and Lieutenant-Colonel Law, Royal Artillery.

The column will not advance by the road which Colonel Pearson's column took but by one which runs nearly parallel to it, but nearer to the coast. The advantage of this line is that the road runs through an easy open country for three quarters of the distance, whereas by the other line the road runs through bush country nearly the whole way.

The force will advance without tents, and with only a blanket and waterproof sheet for each man.

Notwithstanding, however, this reduction of weight, the convoy carrying one month's provisions for the garrison and 10 days' supplies (without groceries) for the relieving column, will consist of 44 carts and about 100 waggons.

With such a length of train, the greater portion of which is drawn by oxen, it will be impossible to do more than about 11 miles in the day, and even this distance, according to the calculations of the Colonial transport conductors, will require nearly all the hours of the daylight to accomplish, if due regard be paid to the interests of the oxen who will not work well in the heat of the day, and who require at least three hours for feeding.

I am desirous of bringing the transport difficulties prominently to your notice, as unless they are fully realised, it will be difficult to understand the apparent slowness which must characterise the movements of the relieving column.

It is probable that the column will be attacked when moving along the last 10 miles of the road between this place and Ekowe.

The tracks, according to the information of those who know the country, runs along a narrow but open ridge, with deep ravines on each side, and is only wide enough for one waggon; it twists and turns considerably, and is reported as being favourable for the attack of an enterprising enemy.

I have suggested to Colonel Pearson, by sun signal, that he should be prepared to make a diversion in support of the relieving column with every available fighting man that can be spared from the defence of the post.

I should feel no doubt about being able successfully to convey the convoy and fresh garrison into Ekowe, and to bring out the present garrison with its train of empty waggons, were the transport of different quality.

A force moving, however, with a transport through a difficult country is heavily hampered, if attacked determinedly by large numbers; and whilst feeling every confidence in the ability, courage, and determination of those under my command, I trust that, should our efforts fall short of what is no doubt expected of us, circumstances may be duly taken into consideration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Chelmsford,
Lieutenant-General.

To the Right Hon. the Secretary of State,
&c. &c. &c.

Ekowe Relieving Column.

First Division of the Column.

Lieutenant-Colonel Law, R.A., Commanding.

	Men.
Naval Brigade of H.M.S. "Shah" and "Tenedos," except the Royal Marines of the "Shah"	350
The 57th Regiment	640
2 Companies the "Buffs"	140
5 Companies 99th Regiment	430
5th Battalion N.N.C.	1,200
Mounted Infantry	70
Do. Volunteers	30
Do. Natives	130
Native Foot Scouts	150
Commissariat and Transport department	—
Medical department	—
Total	1,660 whites.
	1,480 N.C.
Grand total	3,140 fighting men.

Artillery—2 9-pr. guns.
2 24-pr. rocket tubes.
1 Gatling gun.

There will accompany this division of the column the train of supplies for Ekowe (a month's supply for 1,200 men, about 25 waggons). A train of supplies for both divisions of the column for 10 days, about 25 waggons.

Second Division of the Column.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pemberton, 60th Rifles, Commanding.

	Men.
Naval Brigade of H.M.S. "Boadicea"	190
Royal Marines, "Shah" and "Boadicea"	100
60th Rifles	540
91st Highlanders	850
4th Battalion N.N.C.	800
Commissariat and Transport department	—
Medical department	—
Total	1,680 whites.
	800 N.C.
Total fighting men	2,480

Artillery—2 24-pr. rocket tubes.
1 Gatling gun.

Grand total	1,660 whites.
	1,680 do.
	3,340
	1,480 Natives.
	800 do.
	2,280
Grand total fighting men	5,620

(Signed) J. North Crealock, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Assistant Military Secretary.

TRANSPORT OF THE RELIEVING COLUMN.

72 pack mules, 2 for each of 36 companies, each mule to carry 1,500 rounds on pack saddle.
36 company carts, one for each of 36 companies, the number of companies in the relieving column.
8 carts for the ammunition and intrenching tools of 8 pieces of ordnance (viz., two 9-pr. guns, four 24-pr. rocket tubes, two Gatlings).

Total 44 carts.

36 company waggons, one for each of 36 companies.
(About) 25 waggons, holding, together, one month's supply for 1,200 men, the next garrison of Ekowe.
(About) 25 waggons, holding, together, the provisions for the relieving column (5,600 fighting men for 10 days), except what is carried in the company waggons. See below.
4 waggons for the Native contingent, two for each of the two battalions.
1 waggon for the mounted infantry.
3 ambulance waggons.
Total 44 carts.
94 waggons.

Total 138 vehicles.

COMPANY CART, MAX. LOAD, 1,000 lbs.
Detail of contents—

	lbs.
5,400 rounds, 9 boxes	720
Intrenching tools	240
2 stretchers (14 lbs.)	28
Total	988

COMPANY WAGGON, MAX. LOAD, 3,000 lbs.
Detail of contents—

	lbs.
3,000 rounds, 5 boxes	400
Blankets, waterproof sheets, camp kettles, officers' overcoats	726
Provisions (about)	1,800
Total	2,926

(Signed) A. FITZROY HART, Captain,
Staff Officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Law, R.A.

Kambula Camp, March 30, 1879.

THE Zulu army, about 20,000 men, attacked this camp yesterday at 1.30 p.m. Engagement lasted until 4.30 p.m., when the enemy retreated, pursued until dark by the mounted corps.

It is estimated that they lost 1,000 killed.

Our loss in killed and wounded about 80.

Lieutenant Nicolson, R.A., Lieutenant Bright, 90th Light Infantry, wounded and since dead.

Major Hackett, 90th Light Infantry, very dangerously wounded; Lieutenant Smith, 90th Light Infantry, and Captain Allan Gardiner, severely; Captains Cox and Pearse, 1/13th, slightly. Zulus retreated east.

On 28th instant the Inlobane Mountain was attacked in two places by a patrol consisting of the Mounted Corps and Wood's Irregulars, and the top reached without great loss.

The Zulu army was then seen approaching, and the patrol retreated. Weatherly's corps was cut off and all killed, except Captain Denison and a few men; also a party of 35 of the Frontier Light Horse, under Captain Barton, Coldstream Guards, of whom only seven escaped.

Captain Campbell, Coldstream Guards, and Mr. Lloyd, Political Assistant, were killed in ascent of the mountain.

Lieutenant Williams, 58th Regiment, and Mr. Piet Uys, Commanding Burgher Contingent, also killed.

Wood's Irregulars mostly disbanded and deserted during night of 28th and 29th.

By order,
(Signed) E. WOODGATE, S.O.

Officer Commanding Troops, Balts Spruit.

Balts Spruit, 6.15 p.m., March 30, 1879.
(Signed) APSLEY CHERRY,
Lieut.-Colonel Commanding Balts Spruit.

Pietermaritzburg, April 2, 1879.

For information of his Excellency the High Commissioner.

By order,
(Signed) MAJOR,
Deputy-Acting Adjutant-General.

(No. 3.)

SIR, Fort Pine, March 15, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, that last evening a messenger from Cetywayo arrived at the bank of the Buffalo, opposite my police kraal. He called for the head policeman, to whom he gave the following message to be delivered to me.

The King desired him to say that since Mr. Rorke died, and since Mr. Ashen left the division, he sees no one on the border, except myself, with whom he is acquainted. He therefore desires me to inform his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor that unless all the cattle which have been taken from his people are returned at once, and his messengers released who have been arrested by Mr. Jackson, he shall no longer be able to restrain his people who are turning to invade Natal and revenge themselves for their losses. He says he has assembled his army, and is quite ready to recommence hostilities.

The King also says, that should the English again invade his country, he hopes they will not do so with so small a force as they did before. He says the troops last sent were only a mouthful for his people. He wishes them to fill their bellies.

The King wishes for a reply as soon as possible.

The message was brought by Kati, the chief induna of Sirayo, who I believe brought the last message to Pietermaritzburg. Kati was very curious to learn from my policeman what the English intended to do with Ohamm.

I should be obliged by your forwarding this to his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN J. ROBSON, J.P.,
Border Agent.

Major Dartnell, District Commandant,
Helpmakaar.

(No. 4.)

SIR, Lydenburg, March 3, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, that on the 4th February last two commanders of Sikukuni's men left the Zulu Mountains for the Swazie border, they were organised by Mabuhelabi, a brother of Umbelieni, this Chief took refuge with the Basutos at the same time that his brother took refuge with the Zulus.

One commando passed under the Brakensberg in the neighbourhood of the Gold Fields, the other by Origstadt and Lubi Rivers, they united at Crocodile River, and on the evening of the 8th February made an attack on the outlying Swazie kraals, killing all but the young women, and taking the cattle; the greater part of the young men living in the neighbourhood were at the King's kraal, but a small party was soon collected and went in pursuit. They in the first instance surprised the Basutos and killed 40 of them, but were soon driven back by force of numbers. The next day they followed at a distance, in the meantime Matzan, the Swazi general, brought up a reinforcement, headed the Basutos, and defeated them with great slaughter. Native report says that but one fourth of Sikukuni's men escaped.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. CLARKE, Capt.
His Excellency Commissioner
Lydenburg.

The Hon. Secretary to Government,
Transvaal.

No. 5.

NOMINAL RETURN of CASUALTIES among the Troops serving in the Field reported between 1st and 8th March 1879.

Regiment or Corps.	Brigades or Battalions.	Regimental No.	Rank and Name.		Age.	Date of Death.	Place of Death.	Cause of Death.
Roy. Engineers	—	8,279	Driver -	Beckett, W. - -	33	28/2/79	Helpmakaar -	Remittent fever.
„ -	—	14,461	Sapper -	Thompson, H. - -	19	1/3/79	„ -	„
3rd - -	2nd -	—	Private -	Coles, C. - -	19	1/3/79	„ -	„
99th - -	—	435	„ -	Cheguer, G. - -	25	4/3/79	Herwan -	Enteric fever.
N.M.P. - -	—	9	Trooper -	Smith, W. S. - -	21	27/2/79	Helpmakaar -	Remittent fever.

(Signed) J. WOOLFREYS,
Surgeon-General,
P.M.O.

True copy,
(Signed) H. H. GUILDING, Major,
D.A.A.G.

No. 5.

NOMINAL RETURN of CASUALTIES among the Troops serving in the Field reported between 16th and 22nd March 1879.

No.	Regiment or Corps.	Brigade or Battalion.	Regimental No.	Rank and Name.		Age.	Date of Death.	Place of Death.	Cause of Death.
1	R.A. -	2/5	48	Q.M.S. -	Cooke, J. - -	34	16/3/79	Helpmakar -	Enteric fever.
2	„ -	„	3,520	Dr. -	Brachan, J. - -	22	9/3/79	„ -	Remittent fever.
3	3 -	2	1,272	Private -	Swaffin, T. - -	20	16/3/79	Herwan -	Enteric fever.
4	4 -	2	2,335	„ -	Murphy, G. -	25	8/3/79	Utrecht -	„
5	4 -	2	—	„ -	Halliday, H. -	27	16/3/79	Greytown -	Dysentery.
6	13 -	1	594	„ -	Kennedy, J. -	22	7/3/79	Kambula Hill -	Enteric fever.
7	24 -	2	1,146	„ -	Jones, T. - -	25	10/3/79	Rorke's Drift -	S.C. fever.
8	„ -	„	1,067	Sergeant -	Jones, D. - -	21	10/3/79	„ -	Remittent fever.
9	„ -	„	1,605	L.-corporal	Frowin, C. - -	19	12/3/79	„ -	„
10	„ -	„	605	Cr. Serg. -	Cuthbert, W. -	23	12/3/79	„ -	„
11	99 -	„	859	Private -	Baden, C. - -	20	2/3/79	Fort Pearson -	Enteric fever.
12	„ -	„	908	„ -	Jones, J. - -	19	3/3/79	„ -	„

(Signed) W. J. INGHAM,
Surgeon-Major,
for P.M.O., absent on leave.

No. 5.

NOMINAL RETURN of CASUALTIES among the Troops serving in the Field reported between 30th March and 5th April 1879.

No.	Regiment or Corps.	Brigade or Battalion.	Regimental No.	Rank and Name.		Age.	Date of Death.	Place of Death.	Cause of Death.
1	4	2	1,036	Private -	Brookes, G. -	19	27/3/79	Utrecht -	Dysentery.
2	24	2	1,534	„ -	Brookes, J. -	28	27/3/79	Helpmakaar -	„
3	99	—	2,073	„ -	Dixon, J. -	27	31/3/79	Herwan -	„
4	Natal M. Police.	—	—	Trooper -	Bennett, G. -	28	28/3/79	Helpmakaar -	Enteric fever.
5	Mounted Basutos.	—	—	„ -	Thalie - -	33	23/3/17	Kambula Hill -	„

(Signed) JAMES L. HOLLOWAY,
Deputy Surgeon-General,
P.M.O.

No. 18.

WAR OFFICE to COLONIAL OFFICE.

SIR, War Office, May 26, 1879.

I AM directed by Secretary Colonel Stanley to forward to you, for the information of Secretary Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the enclosed copies of despatches, which have been received by this mail, from the Lieutenant-General commanding in South Africa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RALPH THOMPSON.

The Under Secretary of State,
&c. &c. &c.
Colonial Office.

His Excellency LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CHELMSFORD, K.C.B., to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

SIR, Pietermaritzburg, April 21, 1879.

I HAVE this day directed a telegram to the sent *viâ* St. Vincent, representing to you that I consider a further re-inforcement of three Infantry Battalions to be necessary for garrison in the Transvaal and Natal. The returns of actual deaths in this Command will show you the great gaps made in the ranks of the corps now here, in addition to the numbers of invalids and those men who are being sent home at the expiration of the extra year with the colours.

It is very desirable that the battalions should be at their full strength in the field, and I am therefore anxious to set free those companies at present doing garrison duty.

From the letters I have now received from His Excellency the High Commissioner, from the Transvaal, I feel it absolutely necessary that a whole battalion should be told off as garrison for Pretoria and certain other points.

These battalions are required, I would add, in addition to the drafts asked for by last mail, to fill up corps now here.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

From the LIEUTENANT-GENERAL COMMANDING in SOUTH AFRICA to the RIGHT HON. the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

SIR, Petermaritzburg, April 21, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to forward a letter from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and my answer to it, in connexion with the correspondence forwarded you last mail, on the subject the natives placed under my command for the purpose of frontier defence not being permitted to cross the border.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

No. 40.
1879 S.A.

Government House, Maritzburg, Natal,
MY LORD, April 18, 1879.

I HAVE received your letter of the 12th instant, acknowledging mine of the 9th.

2. Your Excellency says that the action taken by me in refusing to allow the orders issued by you to the native forces under your command to be carried out appears to you fraught with such dangerous consequences that you have considered it necessary to refer the question for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

3. In the first place, I desire to say that I have taken no such action as you refer to, beyond that I have signified to Mr. Wheelwright, the Colonial Commander of District No. VII., my approval of the answer made by him to Major Twentyman, to the effect that he could not take the native levies under his command across the border, to make raids into the Zulu country, without previous reference to this Government. That is the action that has been taken by me in this matter, and I do not consider that it bears out the terms in which you speak of it, either in your letter to me, or in your despatch to the Secretary of State for War.

4. I have to remind your Excellency that the native levies called out for the defence of the Colony have been placed on or near the border for the defence of the border. They were ordered out for that purpose and for that purpose only, and not for the purpose of taking a part in any operations conducted in the Zulu country. However, I must remind your Excellency that it was distinctly understood between us when I had the honour of an interview with you at Pine Town, that the native levies in the border district, which you considered should be increased in number, should be employed exclusively for the defence of the border. Your Excellency might require them, you said, when the time came for the relief of Ekowe, to make a demonstration along the border. But it was to be a demonstration within the border, and not across the border. They were to be employed in the Colony for the defence of the Colony, and not to be taken across the border. For service across the border, your Excellency had the native contingent, and all that you would require more would be a certain number of mounted men to accompany the troops when they advanced again into the Zulu country should they be needed.

5. The course taken by your Excellency in having within the last few days ordered the native levies who had been placed on the border for the defence of the border to cross into Zululand for the purpose of making raids is a course which I am bound to say is, in my opinion, at entire variance with the understanding then or previously arrived at with regard to these native levies; and I must point out, moreover, that you have taken this course, not only without my authority for these natives crossing the border, but without any reference to me whatsoever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. Bulwer,
Lieutenant-Governor.

His Excellency
Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, K.C.B.
&c. &c. &c.

True copy.
(Signed) J. N. Crealock, A.M.S.

Sir, Pietermaritzburg, April 18, 1879.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter No. 40 / 1879 dated 15 April 1879. With reference to the line of argument adopted by your Excellency in paragraph 4 of the letter under reply, there appears to be an unfortunate misunderstanding with regard to the conversation which I had the honour of holding with your Excellency at Pine Town with reference to the defence of the Natal border. It is perfectly true that I admitted a broad distinction between the natives that had been handed over to me for duty with the invading columns and those who had been collected on the border for purposes of defence.

The latter have never been regarded by me as available for regular operations in the Zulu country, but I cannot admit the accuracy of the statement that during the conversation alluded to I agreed to their exclusive employment *within* the border. Such an agreement would have been diametrically opposed to my view regarding the employment of the colonial forces called out for the defence of the border. Your Excellency will, I think, bear me out that ever since I have been in Natal I have persistently pointed out to all with whom I have had to discuss the several questions connected with the defence of the colony, that no defence can be considered as satisfactory which does not provide for a resort to the offensive when the favourable opportunity arises. The secret instructions that I sent to the border commanders, shortly before I started with the column at Ekowe, were to the effect that they were to make strong demonstrations along the border line, and that, if a favourable opportunity presented itself, they were to make a short raid across in Zululand, taking care not to compromise the retreat of their respective commands. I maintain that, from a military point of view, the order in question did not in the slightest degree create any departure from the understanding that the native levies were to be employed exclusively for the defence of the border. If a force placed on the defensive along a border river, which is fordable at numerous points, content itself with remaining on the passive defensive without endeavouring, by means of scouting in small bodies or by raiding in large ones, to discover what the enemy is doing in its immediate front, it deserves to be surprised and overpowered.

I am so impressed with the absolute soundness of this military principle that, if your Excellency, on a fuller consideration of the question, still refuses to allow the native levies on the border to cross into Zululand in the manner and for the purpose just indicated, I desire to place on record my firm conviction that such a decision will most materially weaken the defence of the border, will throw increased responsibilities upon the officer entrusted with the defence, and will most probably encourage the enemy to assemble in force in the broken country along the Tugela, now, so far as I can learn, almost vacated, when they find that no further raids into the country are being made. With reference to the statement contained in paragraph 5 of your Excellency's letter, that I had adopted a course at entire variance with the understanding then or previously arrived at with regard to the native levies, I can only draw attention to the denial made by me in the first portion of this letter, of any such understanding having been come to. With regard to the concluding portion of the paragraph in question, I can only say that the natives in question were placed under my command by your Excellency, and that, therefore, as I did not consider I was in any way departing from the understanding that they were to be employed exclusively for the defence of the border by ordering them, should an opportunity present, to make a short raid into Zululand, I did not consider there was any necessity to ask for authority to do so.

I was most anxious that my intentions with regard to the employment of the border natives should not become known, and the news be taken across the border by the numerous spies that are believed to infest the colony, and I therefore refrained from making any reference whatever to this part of my plan when communicating my intention to take command of the column moving on Ekowe.

In conclusion, I would point out to your Excellency, that the large force of native levies now assembled along the Natal border can most materially assist in the operations against Cetewayo and the Zulu nation if permitted to cross the border. The long narrow strip of broken country extending from the lower Tugela Drift to Rorke Drift is totally unsuited to the operation of an European force.

It is, however, very important that no large force of the enemy should be allowed to collect in that part of the country, which has excellent grazing ground for cattle and plentiful crops of maize and Kafir corn. Constant patrols and occasional raids, made at different parts of this long line, would of course keep any Zulus that might be living in that part of the country in a state of perpetual alarm, as they would never be certain that a general advance from that direction was not contemplated. It would prevent their reaping their crops, it would compel them to keep their cattle well out of reach, and would most probably cause eventually the entire evacuation of the southern border of Zululand.

I am aware that the objection may be raised to this plan of operations that it is harassing the Zulu people and not Cetywayo, and that consequently we are not acting up to the announcement which was made when we first entered Zululand that our quarrel was with the latter and not with the former.

Since, however, the commencement of the war, our troops have been attacked at different times by the whole available fighting force in Zululand, and it is therefore clear that the Zulu people themselves are not prepared to accept the distinction it was thought desirable to make.

Under these circumstances, it would be unwise to neglect any opportunity that may present itself of inflicting substantial injury upon our enemy, and I wish to place clearly on record that, as the officer upon whom the responsibility for the conduct of the war rests, I can see no other way of bringing it to a speedy conclusion.

I have thus endeavoured as clearly as possible to lay my views before your Excellency, in order that there may be no doubt as to the particular points upon which I am anxious to obtain a decided ruling from your Excellency in Council.

If I am considered fit to be entrusted with the conduct of the war, I contend that the command of the colonial forces assembled along the border of Natal for its defence should be placed unreservedly in my hands, and that I should be permitted to employ them within or without the border in whatever manner I may consider best in the interests of the Colony; and with due regard to its protection from invasion, I consider that all reports regarding these forces should be sent to your Excellency through the military authorities in Natal, and not direct, as is now the case. By this alteration in the existing system your Excellency will be kept equally well informed of all matters connected with these forces, the danger of divided command will be done away with, and the colonial commanders will understand that there is but one controlling authority over them.

I would venture to press for a very speedy reply to these momentous questions, as it

is impossible to say what injury may not accrue to the interests of the Colony so long as doubt exists regarding my powers as commander of the colonial forces.

I have, &c.

His Excellency
Sir Henry Bulwer, K.C.M.G.

(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

True copy.
(Signed) J. NORTH CREALOCK, A.M.S.,
21st April 1879.

From the LIEUTENANT-GENERAL COMMANDING in SOUTH AFRICA to the Right Hon. the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

Natal, 15/1879.

Pietermaritzburg, Natal,
April 20, 1879.

SIR,

1. NOTHING has occurred since the 14th instant, the date of my last Despatch, to show that the Zulus have recovered from the blows lately inflicted on them; on the other hand, the troops under my command have made no forward move.

2. It has been persistently but erroneously stated in the local press that the forces lately under my personal command on the Lower Tugela-Inyezane line have been withdrawn to the frontier. As you will have understood from my reports, such has not been the case. After the relief of Ekowe was effected it became necessary to organise the relieving force, consisting of fresh reinforcements from England and the garrison, into a division. This was easily done by forming two brigades with divisional artillery and mounted men; but as a portion of the first (Pearson's) brigade, viz., two companies of the "Buffs" and five companies of the 99th Regiment, had formed part of the relieving force, these details were ordered back to join their regiments at the Lower Tugela.

3. The 2nd Brigade, under Colonel Clarke, 57th Foot, has remained in the forward and commanding position where I left it, near Gingilovo; that officer reports that the Amatakulu Bush was secured by Major Barrow's mounted men on the 15th April, and only three Zulus seen.

4. Major-General Crealock has taken up his command, and the whole division will shortly be able to commence operations, if transport arrangements will allow it. A copy of my instructions to him I had the honor of forwarding last mail.

Our great difficulty everywhere is still the want of drivers and leaders, and Brigadier-General Wood telegraphs that he is in want of 200. I have telegraphed to the Administrator, Transvaal, to assist him, for we are unable to do so from Natal under present circumstances, inasmuch as we are in want of 300.

5. The various cavalry and infantry regiments and other details are all on the march for their various points of concentration. Major-General Newdigate has proceeded by post cart to take up his command in the north; his head-quarters will, for the present, be Dundee.

6. I myself leave on the 22nd instant for Dundee, where I shall, for the present, fix my head-quarters camp, but intend to push on myself to see Brigadier-General Wood.

7. The health of the troops is improving; the 3/60th Rifles and Naval Brigade on the Lower Tugela line are suffering somewhat (Colonel Clarke writes) from diarrhœa, but the proposed change of camp to a site near the Inyezane river, four miles in advance, will, I expect, prove beneficial.

8. The wounded are progressing favourably, and the change in the weather, which has now become colder and with less rain, will, I hope, materially lessen our sick list, but, as no tents accompany the troops across the frontier, we must, I fear, expect the usual results on young soldiers of such exposure.

9. Major-General Clifford will fix his head-quarters at Pietermaritzburg on my leaving.

He was present yesterday during a consultation the Lieut.-Governor and myself had on the subject of the defence of the Colony, which will be entrusted to him on my crossing the frontier.

10. His Excellency the High Commissioner writes cheerfully of the situation in the Transvaal.

11. As I represented by telegraph last mail, it will be a necessity that drafts be sent out periodically to replace the casualties in the regiments in the field.

* * * *

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHELMSFORD,
Lieutenant-General.

No. 19.

The RIGHT. HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART., to LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR SIR H. BULWER, K.C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, May 28, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that after much consideration Her Majesty's Government have resolved to unite in the hands of General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the chief civil and military authority in that portion of South Africa which is affected by the present war with the Zulus, comprising the Colonies of Natal and the Transvaal and the Native territories to the northward and eastward of these Colonies.

In order to carry out this determination a Commission has been given to Sir Garnet Wolseley appointing him Governor of Natal under the provisions of the Charter of 1856, and this Commission will be in force concurrently with and will not abrogate that which you now hold as Lieutenant-Governor.

You are aware that your administration of the civil affairs of the Colony has been approved by Her Majesty's Government, and it is with much reluctance that they have felt themselves compelled to take a step temporarily interfering with the responsibility of your position. But they feel confident that, recognising the peculiar exigencies of the present crisis, you will, in accordance with the spirit which has characterised your past career, cheerfully acquiesce in an arrangement which has appeared essential to the interests of the public service; and while continuing to exercise, in subordination to Sir Garnet Wolseley, the functions which will still devolve upon you, will readily place at his disposal the valuable experience which you have acquired.

I have, &c.
Sir H. Bulwer. (Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

No. 20.

The RIGHT HON. SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, BART., to ADMINISTRATOR LANYON, C.M.G.

SIR, Downing Street, May 28, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of the appointment of General Sir Garnet Wolseley, G.C.M.G., to take chief command of the military forces in South Africa, and at the same time to hold the chief civil authority in the Transvaal and in Natal, and to discharge the duties of High Commissioner in the adjacent territories.

The reasons for this step will be at once apparent to an officer of your experience, and am fully justified in the confidence which I feel that, with your wonted readiness to place your best services at the disposal of the Crown in any capacity, you will render excellent assistance to Sir Garnet Wolseley in all the branches of his duties.

You will shortly receive copies of the Commissions issued to Sir Garnet Wolseley and of other papers, from which you will clearly understand that his appointment as Governor does not supersede your appointment as Acting-Administrator of the Transvaal, but that you will continue to discharge under him the duties of your present office.

You will of course no longer communicate directly with Sir Bartle Frere, but will take your instructions from Sir Garnet Wolseley.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.
Colonel Lanyon, C.M.G.

No. 21.

The Right Hon. Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Bart., to Governor the Right Hon. Sir H. B. E. FRERE, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Sir, Downing Street, May 28, 1879.

After full consideration of the condition of affairs in South Africa, Her Majesty's Government have decided that the arrangements under which the chief civil, and military authority in the neighbourhood of the seat of war is distributed among four different persons can no longer be deemed adequate to the requirements of the present juncture.

2. In the number of Imperial troops engaged, and the expenditure incurred, the Zulu war has assumed dimensions far exceeding those of any that has been carried on for many years in South Africa; and it appears but too evident that military operations have been seriously impeded by a want of harmony between the civil and military authorities, of which the difference that has arisen between the Lieutenant-General commanding the forces and the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, with regard to the disposal of a portion of the Native levies called out for service, has furnished a striking example.

3. In such a matter the High Commissioner has no power to interfere, but were it otherwise you would be unable, in present circumstances, to interfere with any practical effect. For the prompt action requisite in time of war would entirely preclude the satisfactory reference to Cape Town of this or any other of the numerous questions requiring the decision of the High Commissioner; while, on the other hand, your own presence at the seat of war has become impossible. After an unavoidably protracted absence from Cape Town (during which you have laboured with singular zeal and energy to discharge all the duties which have devolved upon you) you will be entirely occupied with many important matters necessarily postponed until your return.

4. The union of Griqualand West with the Cape, to the settlement of which your recent visit to the province will have largely contributed, has to be completed; the financial questions jointly concerning the Colony and this country demand immediate attention; and important work remains to be done in carrying out the recent legislation of the Cape Parliament for the defence of the Colony. But above all Her Majesty's Government are anxious that the larger and more complicated questions connected with confederation, on which I shall shortly address you, should be considered, under your guidance, during the approaching session of the Cape Parliament, and they attach special importance to the advantages which may be derived from your exertions in promoting this great work.

5. Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government have determined to place the chief military and civil command in the eastern portion of South Africa in the hands of one officer, and they have selected Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, G.C.M.G., for this duty. His high professional standing and his varied and distinguished services preclude any question as to the fitness of placing him for the time in supreme authority over the able men now commanding Her Majesty's troops in South Africa, and administering the Governments of Natal and the Transvaal, and it is equally beyond question that he will receive their most loyal and cordial support. Sir Garnet Wolseley will, in addition to his military command, be commissioned as Governor of Natal and of the Transvaal, and High Commissioner for Native and Foreign Affairs to the northward and eastward of those Colonies. In the latter capacity he will assume for the time that portion of your functions which, at a crisis of such gravity as the present, could not be performed by any High Commissioner acting at a distance of more than a thousand miles from the scene of operations. You will, I am confident, be the first to recognise the necessity of the arrangement, and will readily assist Sir Garnet Wolseley, should you have returned to Cape Town by the time of his arrival there on his way to enter upon the duties of his office, with all the valuable information which your knowledge and experience enable you to afford.

I have, &c.
(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

No. 22.

WAR OFFICE to COLONIAL OFFICE

Sir, Pall Mall, May 29, 1879.

I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to transmit for the information of Sir Michael Hicks Beach the accompanying copy of a Despatch which has been addressed to Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford this day, as well as a copy of a telegram sent to him yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RALPH THOMPSON.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

My Lord, Pall Mall, May 29th 1879.

I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's Despatch of the 21st April 1879, extending your previous telegram, in which you asked for reinforcement of three battalions.

Her Majesty's Government considered the reasons assigned in that telegram insufficient to justify your demand, and they therefore awaited your Despatch under reply before taking any further steps beyond the provision of stores.

Your Lordship has now explained as your reason for the reinforcement of three battalions the fact that gaps are made in the ranks of the corps now under your command by death, invaliding, and expiration of service; you further add that from letters now received from the Transvaal from his Excellency the High Commissioner, you feel it necessary that a whole battalion should be told off as garrison for Pretoria and certain other points.

I have now to inform you that it has been decided to comply with your request by sending out 800 Marines and 200 Royal Marine Artillery.

Drafts of men as seasoned as is possible under the present circumstances of short service will also be sent out from time to time as accounts are received of casualties occurring in the command. This Her Majesty's Government consider to be preferable to sending out additional young battalions.

I have received with regret your letter of 21st April 1879, enclosing copy of further correspondence between yourself and his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and though the orders given by the Colonial Office had instructed his Excellency to comply with your Lordship's military demands, I must nevertheless express my sorrow that you should have been unable to settle this question amicably with his Excellency by personal or friendly communication without the necessity of resort to the Home Government.

I learn with satisfaction that the health of the troops is improving, and I trust that by continued care and foresight they may be maintained in an efficient condition.

I have now to convey to you the intimation that Her Majesty's Government, having carefully considered the information at their command, have come to the conclusion that the satisfactory administration of affairs in that part of South-eastern Africa in the immediate neighbourhood of the seat of war can at the present moment only be carried out by placing that administration in the hands of one person holding plenary powers, both civil and military, and that they have selected Sir Garnet Wolseley to discharge these duties.

The Colonial Office will by this mail have informed Sir Bartle Frere of this decision and of its effects so far as he himself is concerned.

With respect to the military command, though I have the satisfaction of informing you that it is not intended that the supersession caused by the appointment as High Commissioner of an officer senior to yourself should be considered as conveying censure on your proceedings, it will nevertheless be your duty, as in the ordinary course of service, to submit and to subordinate your plans to his control. This decision was communicated to you by telegram sent yesterday viâ St. Vincent, of which I enclose a copy.

Sir Garnet Wolseley being qualified to act in a political as well as in a military capacity will be in possession up to the latest date and in the fullest detail of the views of Her Majesty's Government; the responsibility placed upon you by Sir Bartle Frere with regard to the enforcement of his demands upon Cetywayo will therefore terminate upon the arrival of the High Commissioner, and any overtures for peace will henceforward be transmitted for decision by him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. A. Stanley.

Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, K.C.B.,
Natal.

War Secretary to Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, Natal.

Her Majesty's Government have determined to send out Sir Garnet Wolseley as Administrator in that part of South-eastern Africa in the neighbourhood of the seat of war, with plenary powers, both civil and military; Sir Bartle Frere instructed accordingly by Colonial Office. The appointment of a senior officer is not intended as a censure on yourself, but you will, as in ordinary course of service, submit and subordinate your plans to his control. He leaves this country by next mail.

(Sent 28th May 1879 viâ St. Vincent.)

APPENDIX.

Commissions issued to Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Wolseley.

1.—NATAL.

VICTORIA R.

COMMISSION, passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, appointing Lieutenant-General Sir GARNET JOSEPH WOLSELEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to be Governor of the Colony of Natal.

VICTORIA, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India:—To Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, Lieutenant-General in Our Army, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, greeting:—Whereas We did, by certain Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date at Westminster the fifteenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, in the twentieth year of Our reign, erect the District of Natal, in South Africa, into a separate Colony, to be called the Colony of Natal: And whereas by the said Letters Patent, and by certain other Letters Patent under the said Great Seal bearing date at Westminster the twenty-second day of December one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, in the thirty-third year of Our reign, and by certain other Letters Patent under the said Great Seal bearing date at Westminster the twenty-second day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, in the thirty-fifth year of Our reign, We did make provision for the Government of the said Colony: And whereas, by the said Letters Patent of the fifteenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, We did ordain that the said Government should be administered by a Governor duly commissioned by Us, or in the event of his death, incapacity, or absence from Our said Colony, or if no Governor should have been commissioned by Us, by a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by Our Warrant under Our Sign Manual and Signet: And whereas We did, by Our Warrant under our Sign Manual and Signet bearing date at Windsor the third day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, appoint Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer to be Our Lieutenant-Governor of Our said Colony with the powers and authorities therein-mentioned: And whereas we are now minded to appoint a Governor to administer the Government of Our said Colony during Our pleasure: Now know you that We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your prudence, courage, and loyalty, do by this Our Commission appoint you, the said Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, to be, during Our pleasure, Our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Our Colony of Natal and its dependencies: And We do hereby authorise, empower, and command you to do and execute all things that belong to the said office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief according to the provisions of Our said several Letters Patent above recited, and according to such instructions heretofore given by Us to Our Lieutenant-Governor for the time being as are now in force and according to such other instructions as may from time to time be given to you under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or by Our Order in Our Privy Council, or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and according to such laws as are now or shall hereafter be in force in Our said Colony.

II. And We do require that before entering upon any of the duties of the said office you do cause this Our Commission to be read and published in Our said Colony, in the presence of the Chief Justice, or of some other Judge of the Supreme Court of the Colony, and of the Members of the Executive Council thereof, and that you do then and there take before them the Oath of Allegiance, in the form provided by an Act passed in the thirty-first and thirty-second years of Our reign, intituled An Act to amend the law relating to Promissory Oaths, and likewise the usual oath for the due execution of the office of Governor, and for the due and impartial administration of justice, which oaths the said Chief Justice or Judge is hereby required to administer.

III. And whereas it may be to the advantage of Our Service that Our Lieutenant-Governor should continue to take part in the administration of the Government of Our said Colony notwithstanding that you Our said Governor are present therein; now, there-

fore, We do hereby authorise and empower Our Lieutenant-Governor for the time being, with your sanction and approval, to exercise all or any of the powers and authorities conferred upon the Governor by any of Our said recited Letters Patent, or by any of Our instructions above referred to except the power of granting a pardon or remission of sentence to an offender convicted of crime, and the power of assenting in Our Name to Bills passed by the Legislative Council, or of reserving such Bills for the signification of Our Pleasure thereon.

IV. And further know you that We do hereby appoint that this Our present Commission shall not supersede Our Commission under Our Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date at Windsor the third day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, in the thirty-ninth year of Our reign, appointing Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer, Knight Commander of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, to be Our Lieutenant-Governor of Our Colony of Natal, but that so long as you are able to act as such Governor aforesaid under these Presents Our aforesaid Commission, dated the third day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, shall be taken and deemed to be subject to the superior powers conferred by this Commission.

V. And We do hereby command all and singular Our officers, ministers, and loving subjects in Our said Colony, and all others whom it may concern, to take due notice hereof, and to give you their ready obedience accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Balmoral this twenty-eight day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

By Her Majesty's command.

(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

2.—TRANSVAAL.

VICTORIA R.

COMMISSION, passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, appointing Lieutenant-General Sir GARNET JOSEPH WOLSELEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to be Governor of the Transvaal Territory.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India: To Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, Lieutenant-General in Our Army, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, greeting:—Whereas, by a Commission under Out Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, the eighteenth day of February one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, in the forty-first year of Our reign, We did appoint Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Knight Commander of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, to be the Administrator of the Government of Our Transvaal Territory: And whereas We did, by Our Commission under Our Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, the thirty-fifth day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, appoint Our trusty and well-beloved William Owen Lanyon, Lieutenant-Colonel in Our Army (now Colonel in Our Army), Companion of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Companion of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, to administer the Government of Our said Transvaal Territory in the event of the death, absence, or incapacity of the said Sir Theophilus Shepstone: And whereas We are minded to make further provision for the administration of the Government of Our said Territory: Now know you that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty of you the said Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, do, by this Our Commission under Our Sign Manual and Signet, appoint you to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Our said Transvaal Territory.

II. And We do hereby require that you do in all things conform to such orders and instructions as Our said Administrator hath received, or as you shall hereafter receive from Us under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or by Our Order in Our Privy Council, or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and to such laws as are or shall hereafter be in force in Our said Territory.

III. And We do require that before entering upon any of the duties of the said office you do cause this Our Commission to be read and published in Our said Territory in the presence of the Senior Judge of the Territory, and that you do then and there take before him the Oath of Allegiance in the form provided by an Act passed in the thirty-first and thirty-second years of Our reign, intituled an Act to amend the Law relating to Promissory Oaths, and likewise the usual Oath for the due execution of the Office of Governor, and for the due and impartial Administration of Justice, which Oaths the said Senior Judge is hereby required to administer.

IV. And whereas it may be to the advantage of Our service that Our Administrator should continue to take part in the administration of the Government of Our said Territory notwithstanding that you Our said Governor are present therein: Now therefore We do hereby authorise and empower Our Administrator for the time being, with your sanction and approval, to exercise all or any of the powers and authorities of the Governor. And further know you that We do hereby appoint that this Our present Commission shall not supersede Our forerecited Commissions of the eighteenth day of February eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, and of the twenty-fifth day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, but that so long as you are able to act as such Governor aforesaid under these presents Our forerecited Commissions of the eighteenth day of February one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, and of the twenty-fifth day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, shall be taken and deemed to be subject to the superior powers conferred by this Commission.

V. And We do hereby command all and singular Our officers, ministers, and loving subjects in Our said Territory, and all others whom it may concern, to take due notice hereof, and to give their ready obedience accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Balmoral this twenty-eigth day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

By Her Majesty's command.

(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

3.—SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

VICTORIA R.

COMMISSION, passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, appointing Lieutenant-General Sir GARNET JOSEPH WOLSELEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to be Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South-Eastern Africa.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India:—To Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, Lieutenant-General in our Army, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath; Whereas We did by Our Commission under Our Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, the twenty-seventh day of February one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven, in the fortieth year of Our reign, appoint Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Baronet, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Commander of Our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to be Our High Commissioner for the Territories of South Africa adjacent to Our said Colony, or with which it might be expedient that We should have relations, and which were not included within the Territory of either of the two Republics then established in South Africa or of any Foreign Power: And whereas the Territory of one of the said Republics, theretofore known as the South African Republic, has become and is now part of Our Dominions and is known as the Transvaal Territory: And whereas we are minded to constitute and appoint a SpecialHigh Commissioner for South-Eastern Africa who may act in Our name and on Our behalf and in all respects represent our Crown and Authority in respect of the Native Tribes in the Territories of South Africa to the Northward and Eastward of Our Colony of Natal and of Our said Transvaal Territory, and further may hold communication with the President or Representatives of the Republic of the Orange Free State, or with the Representative of any Foreign Power: Now know you that We,

reposing especial trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty of you, the said Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, do by these Presents constitute and appoint you to be Our Special High Commissioner for the Territories of South-Eastern Africa, which are situate to the Northward and Eastward of Our Colony of Natal and of Our Transvaal Territory, and are not included within the Territory of the said Republic, or of any Foreign Power, and for the transacting of any business which may lawfully be transacted by you with the aforesaid President or Representative. And We do further require you, by all proper means, to invite and obtain the co-operation of the Government of the said Republic, or of any Foreign Power towards the preservation of peace and safety in South Africa, and the general welfare and advancement of its Territories and peoples.

II. And We do hereby authorise and empower you, as such Our High Commissioner, in Our name and on Our behalf, to take all such measures and to do all such things in relation to the Native Tribes in the Territories of South Africa to the Northward and Eastward of Our Colony of Natal and of Our Transvaal Territory, as are lawful and appear to you to be advisable for maintaining Our said Possessions in South Africa in peace and safety, and for promoting the peace, order, and good Government of the Tribes aforesaid, and for restoring and preserving friendly relations with them.

III. And We do hereby authorise and empower you by Instruments under your hand and seal to appoint so many fit persons as you shall think necessary (in the interest of Our Service), to be your Deputy Commissioners, and by the same, or other Instruments, to define the districts within which such Deputy Commissioners shall respectively discharge their functions. And We do hereby authorise and empower every such Deputy Commissioner to have and exercise within his district such of the powers and authorities hereby conferred upon you, Our High Commissioner, as you shall think fit to assign to him by the Instrument appointing him. Provided, nevertheless, that the appointment of such Deputy Commissioners shall not abridge, alter, or affect the right of you, Our High Commissioner, to execute and discharge all the powers, authorities, and functions of your said office.

IV. And further, know you that We do hereby appoint that these Presents shall not supersede Our said Commission bearing date the twenty-seventh day of February one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, appointing the said Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere to be Our High Commissioner for the Territories of South Africa, above described, but that so long as you are acting as such High Commissioner as aforesaid under these Presents, Our aforesaid Commission dated the twenty-seventh day of February one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven shall be deemed to be suspended in respect of any measures to be taken or things to be done in relation to the Native Tribes aforesaid situate to the Northward and Eastward of our Colony of Natal and of our Transvaal Territory, and not included within the Territory of the Orange Free State or of any Foreign Power.

V. And We do hereby command and require all Our officers and ministers, civil and military, and all the inhabitants of Our said Possessions, with their Territories and Dependencies, and all other Our loyal subjects in South-Eastern Africa, to be aiding and assisting unto you, the said Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, as High Commissioner.

Given at our Court at Balmoral this twenty-eighth day of May one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

By Her Majesty's command.

(Signed) M. E. HICKS BEACH.

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on 31 October, 2019